

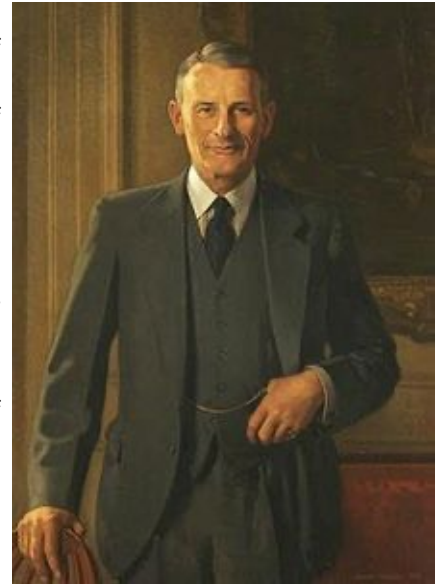
## THE TWENTY CLUB

The Double-Cross System or XX System was a World War II counter-espionage and deception operation of the British Security Service, a civilian organisation usually referred to by its cover title MI5. Nazi agents in Britain – real and false – were captured, turned themselves in or simply announced themselves, and were then used by the British to broadcast mainly disinformation to their Nazi controllers. Its operations were overseen by the Twenty Committee under the chairmanship of John Cecil Masterman; the name of the committee comes from the number 20 in Roman numerals: "XX" (that is a double cross).

### The Twenty Committee

When World War II broke out, Masterman was drafted into the Intelligence Corps. After investigating and producing a report into the evacuation of Dunkirk. Masterman was appointed as a Civil Assistant in MI5. Within MI5 he was the chairman of the Twenty Committee, which was a group of British intelligence officials, including wartime amateurs, who held the key to the Double Cross System, which turned German spies into double agents working for the British. Its name was a pun based on the Roman numeral XX and its double-cross purpose.

Strictly speaking, the Committee was responsible for providing information for the agents to be transmitted to the Abwehr and other German intelligence agencies, deceiving them of Allied intentions and war plans. It was Section B1(a) of MI5, established by Lt. Col. T. A. Robertson, who had the task of finding, turning and handling the agents themselves. Masterman became an Officer of the Order of the British Empire in June 1944. Robertson was also appointed an OBE in the same London Gazette. They are both listed as Civil Assistant, War Office. In November 1945 at the Savoy Hotel in London, Masterman and a select few of B1 (a) section were awarded the Order of the Yugoslav Crown by the exiled King Peter II.



Sir John Cecil Masterman

Although Masterman ran the system, he credited MI5 with originating the idea. It is widely assumed that the writer Ian Fleming, himself involved in wartime intelligence, adapted Masterman's name for the (female) character of Jill Masterson in his James Bond novel *Goldfinger* (1959).

### Gentleman Spymaster Lt. Col Tommy 'Tar' Robertson.

He was born on October 27, 1909, just a few days before the start of the monsoon season, in Medan, Sumatra, where his father was a colonial banker. After Charterhouse, the young Robertson was accepted into the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst, where one of his contemporaries was David Niven, later to become the debonair film star. The pair became friends and there were many roistering nights to be had. As one commentator observed: "The twenties were wild at Sandhurst. As indeed they were everywhere else."



Unfortunately, Robertson seems to have continued his excesses long after being commissioned into the Seaforth Highlanders. He bought an MG Midget sports car, his suits and shoes were from the finest in town and he was soon "living stratospherically above his means". A dashing young Army officer dining and dancing the nights away in London. Although by no means a tight fist, his Scottish banker father wanted to rein him in.

"Though his lifestyle suggests a car crash was a persistent risk, the big collision, when it came, was with his father." "Tommy was faced with a debt he could not settle and when he asked his father for money, the latter reacted with fury." Whether this was the catalyst is never made clear, but after only two years Robertson resigned from the Seaforth Highlanders.

He spent a few years working in a city bank in London and then, somewhat bizarrely, became an officer in the Birmingham city police force. He was recruited into MI5 in 1933 by its founder Vernon Kell, not through any formal interview, but on the recommendation of Kell's son John, who had been a contemporary at Charterhouse.

**Major-General Vernon George Waldegrave Kell (1873–1942)** was the co-founder and first Director of the Security Service. As an officer of the South Staffordshire Regiment of the British Army, he served in Russia and China, where he fought in the Boxer Rebellion of 1900, and rose to the rank of Captain as an intelligence analyst at the War Office.



In 1909, Kell was selected by the War Office to co-found the Secret Service Bureau in conjunction with Captain Mansfield Smith-Cumming of the Royal Navy. Kell took charge of domestic counter-intelligence, while Cumming was responsible for foreign intelligence. In due course their respective sections of the Secret Service Bureau became the Security Service (MI5) and the Secret Intelligence Service (MI6).

Kell was such a talented linguist that at first his parents considered that he should be trained for the diplomatic service. However, in 1892 he entered the Sandhurst Royal Military College and two years later joined his father's old regiment. As Kell could speak German, Italian, French and Polish he became an interpreter. In 1898 he studied Russian in Moscow. Afterwards he was posted to Shanghai to learn Chinese, but he became caught up in the Boxer Uprising and was unable to qualify as a Chinese interpreter until 1903.

Kell returned to London to a post in the German intelligence section of the War Office, but in 1905 he transferred to the Far Eastern section, and in 1907 moved to the Committee of Imperial Defence (CID), where he became Director of the Home Section of the Secret Service Bureau with responsibility for investigating espionage, sabotage and subversion in Britain. Later this organisation became known as MI5. At the same time Mansfield Cumming became head of MI6, an organisation responsible for secret operations outside Britain. Cumming feared that Kell would eventually become head of a unified intelligence unit. On 1st November 1909: "I am firmly convinced that Kell will oust me altogether before long. He will have quantities of work to show, while I shall have nothing. It will transpire that I am not a linguist, and he will then be given the whole job with a subordinate, while I am retired - more or less discredited."

Kell worked closely in this work with Basil Thomson, head of the Special Branch. Kell and Thomson decided to create a card-index system on all potential subversives. According to his biographer, Nicholas Hiley: "His chronic asthma and limited budget kept him from active enquiries, but he began the methodical collection of suspicious reports, and gradually gained the confidence of a select group of chief constables and government officials." It is claimed that by 1914 he had details of over 16,000 people. Hiley goes on to argue that "Kell was convinced that the German army was already planning invasion, and arranged for the secret registration of more than 30,000 resident aliens, who he was convinced formed the basis of a network of military agents and saboteurs."

On the outbreak of the First World War Kell joined forces with Eric Holt-Wilson and Basil Thomson to draft The Defence of the Realm Act (DORA). This was an attempt "to prevent persons communicating with the enemy or obtaining information for that purpose or any purpose calculated to jeopardise the success of the operations of His Majesty's Forces or to assist the enemy." This legislation gave the government executive powers to suppress published criticism, imprison without trial and to commandeer economic resources for the war effort. During the war publishing information that was calculated to be indirectly or directly of use to the enemy became an offence and accordingly punishable in a court of law. This included any description of war and any news that was likely to cause any conflict between the public and military authorities. By 1914 Kell had a staff of four officers, one barrister, two investigators and seven clerks.

This enabled MI5 to collect a great deal of information of spies in Britain. On the outbreak of the First World War MI5 officers arrested 22 German agents. Over the next year another seven spies were caught. Eleven men were executed, as was Sir Roger Casement, who was found guilty of treason in 1916. When conscription was introduced in May 1916 Kell argued that groups such as Union of Democratic Control and the No-Conscription Fellowship should be "classed as pro-German" and MI5 began the intensive surveillance of more than 5,000 individuals. According to Nicholas Hiley: "By October 1917 its registry contained almost 40,000 personal files, and 1 million cross-index cards, and its principal work had become the collection and analysis of information on a vast range of innocent individuals and organizations."



At the end of the First World War Kell had a staff of 850 and an annual budget of £100,000. However, in 1919 some of MI5's responsibilities transferred to the Special Branch and Kell's budget was cut to £35,000, his staff was reduced to just thirty, and his duties were confined to counter-espionage and the combating of communism within the armed forces. His biographer has argued: "The post-war red scare seemed ideal for MI5, as it demanded the cross-checking of vast numbers of suspects, and apparently confirmed that democracy required strengthening from outside by determined men such as Kell. However, financial constraints prevented MI5 from recruiting young staff and forced Kell to rely heavily on personal links with business and political organizations, often on the far right." Kell decided to work with George Makgill, who had joined forces with William Reginald Hall and a group of industrialists to form the Economic League, an organisation dedicated to opposing what they saw as subversion and action against free enterprise. John Baker White, a future Conservative MP, was brought in to run the organisation. White called Makgill "perhaps the greatest Intelligence officer produced in this century."

In September 1924 MI5 intercepted a letter signed by Grigory Zinoviev, chairman of the Comintern in the Soviet Union, and Arthur McManus, the British representative on the committee. In the letter British communists were urged to promote revolution through acts of sedition. Hugh Sinclair, head of MI6, provided "five very good reasons" why he believed the letter was genuine. However, one of these reasons, that the letter came "direct from an agent in Moscow for a long time in our service, and of proved reliability" was incorrect.



Vernon Kell and Sir Basil Thomson the head of Special Branch, were also convinced that the Zinoviev Letter was genuine. Kell showed the letter to Ramsay MacDonald, the Labour Prime Minister. It was agreed that the letter should be kept secret but someone leaked news of the letter to the Times and the *Daily Mail*. The letter was published in these newspapers four days before the 1924 General Election and contributed to the defeat of MacDonald and the Labour Party.

#### **Sir Basil Thomson**

In a speech he made on 24th October, Ramsay MacDonald suggested he had been a victim of a political conspiracy: "I am also informed that the Conservative Headquarters had been spreading abroad for some days that... a mine was going to be sprung under our feet, and that the name of Zinoviev was to be associated with mine. Another Guy Fawkes - a new Gunpowder Plot... The letter might have originated anywhere. The staff of the Foreign Office up to the end of the week thought it was authentic... I have not seen the evidence yet. All I say is this, that it is a most suspicious circumstance that a certain newspaper and the headquarters of the Conservative Association seem to have had copies of it at the same time as the Foreign Office, and if that is true how can I avoid the suspicion - I will not say the conclusion - that the whole thing is a political plot?"

After the election it was claimed that two of MI5's agents, Sidney Reilly and Arthur Maundy Gregory, had forged the letter and that Major George Joseph Ball (1885-1961), a MI5 officer, leaked it to the press. In 1927 Ball went to work for the Conservative Central Office where he pioneered the idea of spin-doctoring. Later, Desmond Morton, who worked under Hugh Sinclair, at MI6 claimed that it was Stewart Menzies who sent the Zinoviev letter to the *Daily Mail*.

Kell complained to the Secret Service Committee that, because of his diminished resources, "he had no agents in the accepted sense of the word, but only informants, though he might employ an agent for a specific purpose, if necessary, in which case he would consult Scotland Yard about him, if he were in doubt as to his character, or he might even borrow a man from Scotland Yard." Kell continued to work closely with the British government and in October 1931 MI5 was given responsibility for investigating communism throughout the United Kingdom, using staff transferred from the Special Branch and MI6. In 1934 he was given the task of investigating fascism. Nicholas Hiley has pointed out: "This produced a rapid increase in MI5's resources and, although in 1935 Kell's staff numbered just over ninety, within four years it had grown to 330, with an annual budget of more than £90,000 and a secret registry containing some 250,000 personal files."

MI5 managed to infiltrate the British Union of Fascists. However, Kell dismissed the idea that Oswald Mosley posed a serious threat to the government. In October 1934, Kell reported to the Home Office: "It is becoming increasingly clear that at Olympia Mosley suffered a check which is likely to prove decisive. He suffered it, not at the hands of the Communists who staged the provocations and now claim the victory, but at the hands of Conservative MPs, the Conservative Press and all those organs of public opinion which made him abandon the policy of using his Defence Force to overwhelm interrupters."

By the outbreak of the Second World War, the British government had begun to doubt the competence of the leadership of intelligence services. Winston Churchill was especially critical of MI5 and was furious when an explosion in his constituency took place at the Royal Gunpowder factory at Waltham Abbey. However, as Christopher Andrew has pointed out: "Sabotage was rumoured and Chief Inspector William Salisbury, later of the Murder Squad, launched an investigation. His conclusion, with which the M15 counter-sabotage unit and Detective Chief Inspector Williams of Special Branch agreed, was that none of the three explosions which occurred on 18 January and killed five workers were caused by sabotage."

Churchill became prime minister in May 1940, and on 10th June he was sacked. So also was his deputy, Eric Holt-Wilson. The following day, his wife, who managed the canteen at Wormwood Scrubs, gathered the staff together and told them bitterly, "Your precious Winston has sacked the General." Major-General Vernon Kell died at his rented cottage, Stonepits, Emberton, Olney, in Buckinghamshire, on 27th March 1942.

**Sir George Makgill 11th Baronet** was born on 24 December 1868 in Stirling and died on 16 October 1926 in London. He was a Scottish peer who was also a novelist and a right-wing propagandist. He was the son of Captain Sir John Makgill 10th baronet, and Margaret Isabella Haldane, sister of Lord Haldane. Educated privately, Makgill lived for several years in New Zealand where his father had a station at Waiuku. In 1891 he married Frances Elizabeth Grant of

Merchiston, Otago. After his father died in 1906, Makgill established his claim to the Baronetcy of Makgill. As Sir George Makgill, he settled in Eye, Suffolk, leasing Yaxley Hall, an Elizabethan mansion, from Lord Henniker.

During the First World War he was Secretary to the Anti-German Union, later renamed the British Empire Union. In 1915 and 1916, he brought a lawsuit to strip the German-born banker Ernest Cassel and American-born of German parents railway financier Edgar Speyer of their Privy Council membership; the case was dismissed, but Edgar Speyer's British citizenship was stripped after the war. After the war, business interests invited him to set up a private intelligence network, the Industrial Intelligence Board, to monitor communists, trade unionists and industrial unrest. The IIB's agents included Maxwell Knight and John Baker White, who later characterized Makgill as "perhaps the greatest Intelligence officer produced in this century".



In 1920, he announced himself as a People's League parliamentary candidate for East Leyton and, in 1921, as an Anti-Waste League candidate. He became General Secretary of the Empire Producers' Organization. He was also a member of the Anti-Socialist Union and was for a time part of a tendency within that group that was close to the British Fascists. In 1926, he managed the day-to-day operations of the Organization for the Maintenance of Supplies, set up to supply and maintain blackleg workers during that year's general strike. Another agent was W. B. Findley, who used the name Jim Finney, to infiltrate the Communist Party of Great Britain. Another of Makgill's agents was Kenneth A. Stott, who recruited spies from within the trade union movement. In September 1922, Stott claimed that he attended a meeting in Cologne of the Deutscher Überseedienst (German Overseas Service). Stott claimed the organisation had "its own secret service, which sent couriers to collect information, working through extremists, Trade Unions and labour movements".



Vernon Kell introduced George Makgill to Desmond Morton, head of the Secret Intelligence Service's Section V, dealing with counter-Bolshevism. Morton wrote to Makgill on 2nd February 1923, that "anything I can find out is always at your disposal". Morton was not always impressed with the information provided by Makgill's agents. On 28th May 1923 Morton wrote to Makgill: "They are the kind of reports which a policeman would put up to his inspector when told to watch people, but not one statement really carries us any further. All the names mentioned are the names of people known to be interested in Communist or Irish intrigues, and there is nothing to show what these intrigues are, which is the important thing."

#### **Desmond Morton**

In the 1923 General Election, the Labour Party won 191 seats. Although the Conservatives had 258, Ramsay MacDonald agreed to head a minority government, and therefore became the first member of the party to become Prime Minister. As MacDonald had to rely on the support of the Liberal Party, he was unable to get any socialist legislation passed by the House of Commons. The only significant measure was the Wheatley Housing Act which began a building programme of 500,000 homes for rent to working-class families. Vernon Kell, like other members of establishment, was appalled by the idea of a Prime Minister who was a socialist. As was pointed out: "It was not just the intelligence community, but more precisely the community of an elite - senior officials in government departments, men in "the City", men in politics, men who controlled the Press - which was narrow, interconnected (sometimes intermarried) and mutually supportive. Many of these men had been to the same schools and universities, and belonged to the same clubs. Feeling themselves part of a special and closed community, they exchanged confidences secure in the knowledge, as they thought, that they were protected by that community from indiscretion."

Two days after forming the first Labour government Ramsay MacDonald received a note from General Borlass Childs of Special Branch that said "in accordance with custom" a copy was enclosed of his weekly report on revolutionary movements in Britain. MacDonald wrote back that the weekly report would be more useful if it also contained details of the "political activities of the Fascist movement in this country". Childs wrote back that he had never thought it right to investigate movements which wished to achieve their aims peacefully. In reality, MI5 was already working very closely with the British Fascist, that had been established in 1923. Maxwell Knight was the organization's Director of Intelligence. In this role he had responsibility for compiling intelligence dossiers on its enemies; for planning counter-espionage and for establishing and supervising fascist cells operating in the trade union movement. This information was then passed onto Vernon Kell.

**Charles Henry Maxwell Knight** OBE, known as **Maxwell Knight**, was born in South Norwood on 9 July 1900 and became a British spymaster, naturalist and broadcaster, reputedly a model for the James Bond character "M". He saw



service during the First World War. Having been a naval cadet, he was appointed to the temporary rank of Midshipman in the Royal Naval Reserve on 2 May 1918.



In July 1918 he attended a [hydrophone](#) officers' course, and in August served for a short time as First Class Hydrophone Officer aboard the trawler, *Ninus*, until being admitted to hospital in [Portland](#) for treatment of sea sickness. On 1 September 1918 he was appointed to the armed merchant cruiser, HMS *Andes*. In December 1918 Captain C.T.H. Cooper of the *Andes* described him as "a promising young officer." He was demobilised in February 1919. Having left the navy, he worked as a teacher in a preparatory school and as a freelance journalist.

In an unpublished memoir, Knight recalled that he joined the first of the Fascist Movements in the United Kingdom, Rotha Lintorn-Orman's British Fascist, in 1924, "at the request of the late Sir George Makgill who was then running agents on behalf of Sir Vernon Kell (Major General Sir Vernon Kell, Director General of the British Security Service, MI5). I remained with this organisation until 1930 when it more or less became ineffectual. My association with this body was at all times for the purposes of obtaining information for HM Government and also for the purposes of finding likely people who might be used by this department for the same purposes. He served as the organisation's

director of intelligence.

During the 1920s, on Knight's instructions, six British Fascists, posing as Communists, joined the Communist Party of Great Britain to work as penetrator agents for Makgill's section 2B. In time, Knight became MI5's chief 'agent runner', being deployed principally against the Communist Party. He rose to be head of section B5(b), responsible for infiltrating agents into potentially subversive groups, based for much of its existence at 308, Hood House, Dolphin Square in London, separate from the rest of MI5.

A respected case officer, Knight achieved successes with the infiltration of political groups, leading to the internment and imprisonment of fascists and fascist sympathisers regarded as a threat to the United Kingdom, such as Albert Williams, Percy Glading, George Whomack, Anna Wolkoff, Tyler Kent, leading anti-semite, Captain Archibald Maule Ramsay MP and Oswald Mosley. During his career with MI5, Knight found that there was "a very long standing and ill-founded prejudice against the employment of women as agents", a position with which he did not agree. Indeed, many of his best agents were women. Agents working under him included Olga Gray who infiltrated the leadership of the Communist Party of Great Britain, Joan Miller (who "penetrated the anti-semitic underworld of British Fascism", and Tom Driberg.

His early warnings of communist infiltration of MI5 were not taken seriously. Patricia Craig notes that his paper, "The Comintern is not dead", which predicted with great accuracy the developments in Russia's policy with regard to Britain after the war, "was dismissed as 'over-theoretical' by Roger Hollis, and various other Soviet experts considered it unimpressive. Moreover, when, in 1941 Anthony Blunt informed Harry Pollitt that Tom Driberg was an informer, and Driberg was expelled from the Communist Party, Knight developed the suspicion that his unit had been infiltrated by the KGB, but Blunt's treachery remained undiscovered for some years. A failure of Knight's section was the entrapment of Ben Greene, an anti-war activist, interned on the orders of the then Home Secretary, Sir John Anderson, as a result of false evidence given by Knight's agent provocateur, Harald Kurtz.

Having been gazetted as a Second Lieutenant on the Special List in September 1939, Knight was given the army rank of Major during the Second World War, but designated as a "Civil Assistant, General Staff, War Office." He was appointed as an Officer of the Civil Division of the Order of the British Empire in June 1943. In 1946, Knight, who had been an ardent naturalist since childhood, began what was to become a successful broadcasting career on BBC Radio, appearing in, and hosting such programmes as *Naturalist*, *Country Questions* and *Nature Parliament*. He appeared occasionally on television: in Peter Scott's *Look* and in *Animal, Vegetable or Mineral*.

Knight conducted his broadcasting career alongside his work in intelligence, until 1956, when he retired early from MI5, on the grounds of ill health, suffering from angina. Knight spent his last years at "The Wing," Josselyns, [Midgham](#), near Reading in Berkshire, where he died, from heart failure, on 24 January 1968.

Joan Miller, who was recruited as an agent by Knight and had a close personal relationship with him, remembered that he felt very deeply about the threat of Communism: "his views on this subject, you might say, amounted almost to an obsession. He was equally adamant in his aversion to Jews and homosexuals, but prepared to suspend these prejudices in certain cases. 'Bloody Jews' was one of his expressions (you have only to read the popular novels of the

period - thrillers in particular - to understand just how widespread this particular prejudice was). Notwithstanding this, Miller imagined Knight himself was a homosexual, although his third wife, Susi Maxwell Knight, rejected the allegation.

**Joan Miller** was born in 1918. After leaving boarding school at 16 she found work in a tea-shop in Andover. This was followed by the post of an office girl at Elizabeth Arden. Later she was promoted into the Advertising department. Just before the outbreak of the Second World War Miller joined MI5. At first she worked under Lord Cottenham who headed MI5's transport section. However, it was not long before she was recruited by Maxwell Knight, the head of B5b, a unit that conducted the monitoring of political subversion. Knight explained he wanted her to spy on the Right Club. This secret society was an attempt to unify all the different right-wing groups in Britain. Or in the leader's words of "co-ordinating the work of all the patriotic societies".



In his autobiography, *The Nameless War* (1955), Archibald Ramsay, the founder of the Right Club, argued: "The main object of the Right Club was to oppose and expose the activities of Organized Jewry, in the light of the evidence which came into my possession in 1938. Our first objective was to clear the Conservative Party of Jewish influence, and the character of our membership and meetings were strictly in keeping with this objective." By 1940 Miller had become one of the most important figures in the Right Club. Maxwell Knight asked Miller to keep a close watch on Anna Wolkoff who was suspected of being a German spy. Wolkoff ran the Russian Tea Room in South Kensington and this eventually became the main meeting place for members of the Right Club. In February 1940, Anna Wolkoff met Tyler Kent, a cypher clerk from the American Embassy. He soon became a regular visitor to the Russian Tea Room where he met other members of the Right Club including its leader, Archibald Ramsay. Wolkoff, Kent and Ramsay talked about politics and agreed that they all shared the same views on politics.

Kent was concerned that the American government wanted the United States to join the war against Germany. He said he had evidence of this as he had been making copies of the correspondence between President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill. Kent invited Wolkoff and Ramsay back to his flat to look at these documents. This included secret assurances that the United States would support France if it was invaded by the German Army. Kent later argued that he had shown these documents to Ramsay in the hope that he would pass this information to American politicians hostile to Roosevelt. On 13th April 1940 Anna Wolkoff went to Kent's flat and made copies of some of these documents. Joan Miller and Marjorie Amor were later to testify that these documents were then passed on to Duco del Monte, Assistant Naval Attaché at the Italian Embassy. Soon afterwards, MI8, the wireless interception service, picked up messages between Rome and Berlin that indicated that Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, head of German military intelligence (Abwehr), now had copies of the Roosevelt-Churchill correspondence. Soon afterwards Wolkoff asked Miller if she would use her contacts at the Italian Embassy to pass a coded letter to William Joyce (Lord Haw-Haw) in Germany. The letter contained information that he could use in his broadcasts on Radio Hamburg. Before passing the letter to her contacts, Miller showed it to Maxwell Knight.

On 18th May, Knight told Guy Liddell about the Right Club spy ring. Liddell immediately had a meeting with Joseph Kennedy, the American Ambassador in London. Kennedy agreed to waive Kent's diplomatic immunity and on 20th May, 1940, the Special Branch raided his flat. Inside they found the copies of 1,929 classified documents including secret correspondence between Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill. Kent was also found in possession of what became known as Ramsay's Red Book. This book had details of the supporters of the Right Club and had been given to Kent for safe keeping.

Miller also worked in a special department of the Post office that was set up to read letters being sent by perceived subversives. Miller and another agent, Guy Poston, were given the task of breaking into the home of Rajani Palme Dutt, a leading member of the Communist Party in Britain. Maxwell Knight was interested in a locked box that he kept under his bed. However, when they opened the box they discovered it only contained documents about his wedding.

After the conviction of Anna Wolkoff and Tyler Kent, Miller began living with Maxwell Knight. However, she soon realised she was being used as a cover for Knight's homosexuality. She left Knight and married Tom Kinlock Jones in June, 1943. Miller now transferred to the Political Intelligence Department (PID). This involved reading and distributing top-secret cables. While in this post she identified a spy who was passing the contents of some of these cables to the Soviet Union. She was later transferred to a unit that controlled the contents of newspapers being distributed in Germany. Joan Miller died in June 1984.

**Anna Wolkoff**, the daughter of Admiral Nikolai Wolkoff, was born in Russia in 1902. During the First World War Admiral Wolkoff was the aide-to-camp to the Nicholas II in London. After the Russian Revolution Wolkoff decided to remain in England. The Wolkoff family ran the Russian Tea Room in South Kensington. Anna Wolkoff visited Nazi Germany several times in the 1930s and had meetings with Hans Frank and Rudolf Hess. In 1935 her actions began to be monitored by MI5. Agents warned that Wolkoff had developed a close relationship with Wallis Simpson (the future wife of Edward VIII) and that the two women might be involved in passing state secrets to the German government.



Anna and her father held extreme right-wing views and were both members of a secret society called the Right Club. Other members of the group included Archibald Ramsay, William Joyce, Joan Miller, A. K. Chesterton, Francis Yeats-Brown, E. H. Cole, Lord Redesdale, 5th Duke of Wellington, Aubrey Lees, John Stourton, Thomas Hunter, Samuel Chapman, Ernest Bennett, Charles Kerr, John MacKie, James Edmondson, Mavis Tate, Marquess of Graham and Margaret Bothamley. Unknown to Wolkoff, MI5 agents had infiltrated the Right Club. This included Joan Miller, Marjorie Amor and Helen de Munck. As a result the British government was kept fully informed about the activities of the group. In February 1940, Wolkoff met Tyler Kent, a cypher clerk from the American Embassy. He soon became a regular visitor to the Russian Tea Room where he met other members of the Right Club including its leader, Archibald Ramsay. Wolkoff, Kent and Ramsay talked about politics and agreed that they all shared the same political views.

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Wolkoff and Tyler Kent were arrested and charged under the Official Secrets Act. The trial took place in secret and on 7th November 1940, Wolkoff was sentenced to ten years. Kent, because he was an American citizen, was treated less harshly and received only seven years. It is said that after being sentenced Wolkoff swore that she would get revenge by killing Joan Miller. Anna Wolkoff never got the opportunity to tell the public the full-story of what the Right Club was up to during the Second World War as she was killed in a car crash soon after leaving prison.

Tyler Kent was born in China in 1911. His father was a member of the U.S. Diplomatic Corps. Kent was educated at Princeton, the Sorbonne, the University of Madrid and George Washington University. Kent, who spoke French, Greek, German, Russian, Italian and Spanish, joined the State Department in 1934 as a clerk in the Foreign Service and was posted to Moscow. While in the Soviet Union Kent was accused of helping White Russians to smuggle into the United States various Imperial Russian treasures. It was later revealed that he was also passing on documents to Nazi intelligence while in Moscow. Kent was transferred to London to work as a cypher clerk at the American Embassy. His arrival in England in the company of Ludwig Matthias, a Gestapo agent, brought him to the attention of MI5. Kent, later admitted, that he had "anti-Semitic tendencies for many years." He also believed that "all wars are inspired, fermented and promoted by the great international bankers and banking combines which are largely controlled by the Jews."



In December 1945 Tyler Kent was deported to the United States. Surprisingly, his former employer the Department of State decided not to prosecute him for working as a spy for Nazi Germany. He was however, the subject of six FBI investigations from 1952 to 1963. After marrying a wealthy woman, he became a publisher of a newspaper that supported the Ku Klux Klan. In the early 1960s Kent condemned President John F. Kennedy as a communist. After the assassination of Kennedy he claimed that he was killed by agents of the Soviet Union because he was abandoning his communist beliefs. Tyler Kent died in poverty in a Texas trailer park on 20th November 1988.

Thomas Argyll Robertson known as "Tommy" or by his initials as "TAR", as a MI5 intelligence officer he was responsible during the Second World War for the "Double-Cross" ("XX") disinformation campaign against the German intelligence services including Operation Mincemeat. The disinformation campaign was successful in persuading the Germans that the invasions of Sicily (1943) and Normandy (1944) were going to occur elsewhere.

**Operation Mincemeat** was a successful British deception of the Second World War to disguise the 1943 Allied invasion of Sicily. Two members of British intelligence obtained the body of Glyndwr Michael, a tramp who died from eating rat poison, dressed him as an officer of the Royal Marines and placed personal items on him identifying him as the

fictitious Captain (Acting Major) William Martin. Correspondence between two British generals which suggested that the Allies planned to invade Greece and Sardinia, with Sicily as merely the target of a feint, was also placed on the body.

Part of the wider Operation Barclay, Mincemeat was based on the 1939 Trout memo, written by Rear Admiral John Godfrey, the Director of the Naval Intelligence Division and his personal assistant, Lieutenant Commander Ian Fleming. With the approval of the British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill and the military commander in the Mediterranean, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, the plan began by transporting the body to the southern coast of Spain by submarine and releasing it close to shore, where it was picked up the following morning by a Spanish fisherman. The neutral Spanish government shared copies of the documents with the *Abwehr*, the German military intelligence organisation, before returning the originals to the British. Forensic examination showed they had been read and Ultra decrypts of German messages showed that the Germans fell for the ruse. Reinforcements were shifted to Greece and Sardinia before and during the invasion of Sicily; Sicily received none.

The effect of Operation Mincemeat is unknown, although Sicily was liberated more quickly than anticipated and losses were lower than predicted. The events were depicted in *Operation Heartbreak*, a 1950 novel by the former cabinet minister Duff Cooper, before one of the agents who planned and carried out Mincemeat, Ewen Montagu, wrote a history in 1953. Montagu's work formed the basis for the 1956 British film *The Man Who Never Was*.

### Inspiration for Mincemeat.

On 29 September 1939, soon after the start of the Second World War, Rear Admiral John Godfrey, the Director of Naval Intelligence, circulated the Trout memo, a paper that compared the deception of an enemy in wartime to fly fishing. The historian Ben Macintyre observes that although the paper was published under Godfrey's name, it "bore all the hallmarks of ... Lieutenant Commander Ian Fleming", Godfrey's personal assistant. The memo contained a number of schemes to be considered for use against the Axis powers to lure U-boats and German surface ships towards minefields. Number 28 on the list was titled: "A Suggestion (not a very nice one)"; it was an idea to plant misleading papers on a corpse that would be found by the enemy.



*The following suggestion is used in a book by Basil Thomson: a corpse dressed as an airman, with despatches in his pockets, could be dropped on the coast, supposedly from a parachute that has failed. I understand there is no difficulty in obtaining corpses at the Naval Hospital, but, of course, it would have to be a fresh one.*

The deliberate planting of fake documents to be found by the enemy was not new; known as the Haversack Ruse, it had been practised by the British and others in the First and Second World Wars. In August 1942, before the Battle of Alam el Halfa, a corpse was placed in a blown-up scout car, in a minefield facing the German 90th Light Division. On the corpse was a map purportedly showing the locations of British minefields; the Germans used the map, and their tanks were routed to areas of soft sand where they bogged down.

**Rear Admiral John Godfrey in whose**

**name the Trout memo was circulated.**

In September 1942 an aircraft flying from Britain to Gibraltar crashed off Cádiz. All aboard were killed, including Paymaster-Lieutenant James Hadden Turner – a courier carrying top secret documents – and a French agent. Turner's documents included a letter from General Mark Clark, the American Deputy Commander of the Allied Expeditionary Force, to General Noel Mason-MacFarlane, British Governor and Commander in Chief of Gibraltar, informing him that General Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Supreme Commander, would arrive in Gibraltar on the eve of Operation Torch's "target date" of 4 November. Turner's body washed up on the beach near Tarifa and was recovered by the Spanish authorities. When the body was returned to the British, the letter was still on it, and technicians determined that the letter had not been opened. Other Allied intelligence sources established that the notebook carried by the French agent had been copied by the Germans, but they dismissed it as being disinformation. To British planners it showed that some material that was obtained by the Spanish was being passed to the Germans.

The **Trout Memo**, written in 1939, is a document comparing deception of an enemy in wartime with fly fishing. Issued under the name of Admiral John Godfrey, Britain's director of naval intelligence, according to the historian Ben Macintyre it bore the hallmarks of having been written by Godfrey's assistant, Ian Fleming.



The memo reads, in part: "The Trout Fisher casts patiently all day. He frequently changes his venue and his lures. If he has frightened a fish he may 'give the water a rest for half-an-hour,' but his main endeavor, viz. to attract fish by something he sends out from his boat, is incessant." The memo goes on to describe numerous ways that the enemy, like trout, may be fooled or lured in. One idea from the memo was broadly similar to Operation Mincemeat, a World War II plan to convince the Germans that the Allies would attack Greece rather than Italy in 1943, although that idea was developed by Charles Cholmondeley in October 1942. Confirmation of the success of the plan was sent to Churchill: "Mincemeat swallowed rod, line and sinker."

### British Intelligence and the inspiration for the plan

A month after the Turner crash, the British intelligence officer Charles Cholmondeley outlined his own variation of the Trout memo plan, codenamed Trojan Horse, after the Achaean deception from the Trojan War. His plan was:



*A body is obtained from one of the London hospitals ... The lungs are filled with water and documents are disposed in an inside pocket. The body is then dropped by a Coastal Command aircraft ... On being found, the supposition in the enemy's mind may well be that one of our aircraft has either been shot or forced down and that this is one of their passengers.*

Cholmondeley was a Flight Lieutenant in the Royal Air Force (RAF) who had been seconded to MI5,

Charles Cholmondeley and Ewen Montagu on 17 April 1943, transporting the body to Scotland.

Britain's domestic counter-intelligence and security service. He had been appointed as the secretary of the Twenty Committee, a small inter-service, inter-departmental intelligence team in charge of double agents. In November 1942 the Twenty Committee turned down Cholmondeley's plan as being unworkable, but thought there may have been some potential in the idea. As there was a naval connection to the plan, John Masterman, the chairman of the committee, assigned Ewen Montagu, the naval representative, to work with Cholmondeley to develop the plan further. Montagu – a peacetime lawyer and King's Counsel who had volunteered at the outbreak of the war – worked under Godfrey at the Naval Intelligence Division, where he ran NID 17(M), the sub-branch which handled counter-espionage work. Godfrey had also appointed Montagu to oversee all naval deception involving double agents. As part of his duties, Montagu had been briefed on the need for deception operations to aid the Allied war aims in a forthcoming invasion operation in the Mediterranean.

In late 1942, with ongoing Allied success in the North African Campaign, the thoughts of the military planners turned to the next target. British planners considered that an invasion of France from Britain could not take place until 1944, and the Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, wanted to use the Allied forces from North Africa to attack Europe's "soft underbelly". There were two possible targets for the Allies to attack. The first option was Sicily; control of the island would open the Mediterranean Sea to Allied shipping and allow the invasion of continental Europe through Italy. The second option was into Greece and the Balkans, to trap the German forces present between the British and American invaders and the Soviets. At the Casablanca Conference in January 1943 Allied planners agreed on the selection of Sicily, codenamed Operation Husky, and decided to undertake the invasion no later than July that year. There was concern among the Allied planners that Sicily was an obvious choice (Churchill is reputed to have said "Everyone but a bloody fool would know that it's Sicily") and that the build-up of resources for the invasion would be detected.

Adolf Hitler was concerned about a Balkan invasion, as the area had been the source of raw materials for the German war industry, including copper, bauxite, chrome and oil. The Allies knew of Hitler's fears, and they launched Operation Barclay, a deception operation to play upon his concerns and to mislead the Germans into thinking the Balkans were the objective, thereby keeping Sicily less defended than it could have been. In doing so, the deception operation reinforced German strategic thinking about the likely British target. To suggest the eastern Mediterranean was the target, the Allies set up a headquarters in Cairo, Egypt, for a fictional formation, the Twelfth Army, consisting of twelve divisions. Falsified communications about troop movements were generated from the Twelfth Army headquarters while the Allied command post in Tunis (which was to be the headquarters of the Sicily invasion) reduced radio traffic by using land-lines wherever possible. Military manoeuvres were conducted in Syria, with numbers inflated by dummy tanks and armoured vehicles to deceive observers.

Greek interpreters were recruited and the Allies stockpiled Greek maps and currency. Within Greece, at the behest of the Special Operations Executive, the resistance movements (chiefly ELAS) mounted Operation Animals, which involved widespread sabotage and attacks against the German lines of communication during June and July 1943.

## The practicalities and locating a corpse



Montagu and Cholmondeley were assisted by an MI6 representative, Major Frank Foley, as they examined the practicalities of the plan. Montagu approached the experienced pathologist Sir Bernard Spilsbury to determine what kind of body they needed and what factors they would need to take into account to fool a Spanish pathologist. Spilsbury informed him that those who died in an air crash often did so from shock, and not drowning, so the lungs would not necessarily be filled with water. He added that "Spaniards, as Roman Catholics, were averse to post-mortems and did not hold them unless the cause of death was of great importance." Spilsbury advised that a person could have suffered one of many different causes of death, which could subsequently be misconstrued in an autopsy.

**The pathologist Sir Bernard Spilsbury, who assisted with the operation.**

### Montagu later wrote:

*If a post mortem examination was made by someone who had formed the preconceived idea that the death was probably due to drowning there was little likelihood that the difference between this liquid, in lungs that had started to decompose, and sea water would be noticed.*

This meant that not only would they have a better degree of success than they previously thought, but that there would be a larger number of corpses potentially available for selection when the time came. When Montagu discussed the possibility of obtaining a corpse with Bentley Purchase, the coroner for the Northern District of London, he was told there would be practical and legal difficulties: "I should think bodies are the only commodities not in short supply at the moment [but] even with bodies all over the place, each one has to be accounted for." Purchase promised to look out for a body that was technically suitable, with no relatives who would claim the corpse for burial.

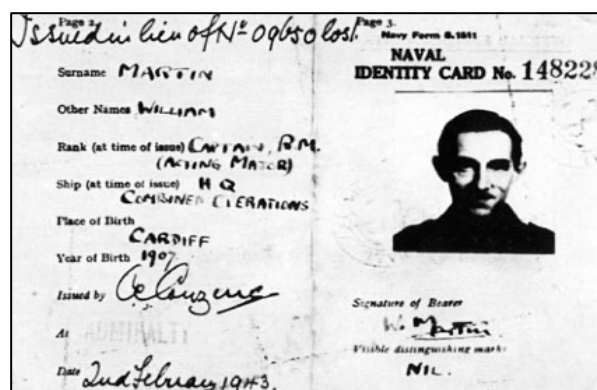
On 28 January 1943 Purchase contacted Montagu with the news he had located a suitable body, probably that of Glyndwr Michael, a tramp who died from eating rat poison that contained phosphorus. Purchase informed Montagu and Cholmondeley that the small amount of poison in the system would not be identified in a body that was supposed to have been floating in the sea for several days. When Montagu commented that the under-nourished corpse did not look like a fit field officer, Purchase informed him that "he does not have to look like an officer – only a staff officer", more used to office work.<sup>[35]</sup> Purchase agreed to keep the body in the mortuary refrigerator at a temperature of 4 °C (39 °F) – any colder and the flesh would freeze, which would be obvious after the body defrosted. He warned Montagu and Cholmondeley that the body had to be used within the following three months, after which it would have decomposed past the point of usefulness.

### Who was he?

Montagu refused to identify the individual and only identified him as "a bit of a ne'er-do-well, and that the only worthwhile thing that he ever did he did after his death". In 1996 Roger Morgan, an amateur historian from London, uncovered evidence in the Public Record Office that the identity of the corpse was Glyndwr Michael. An alternative theory to the corpse's identity was suggested in the history *The Secrets of HMS Dasher* (2004). This suggested that in March 1943 there was an explosion on HMS *Dasher*, which sank, killing 379 men; one of these corpses was purportedly used. The military historian Denis Smyth dismisses the suggestion, and observes that the official records of the operation state that Michael was the body.

### Developing the plan and a new identity

Montagu selected the code name Mincemeat from a list of centrally held available possibilities. On 4 February 1943 Montagu and Cholmondeley filed their plan for the operation with the Twenty Committee; it was a re-working of Cholmondeley's Trojan Horse plan. The Mincemeat plan was to place documents on the corpse, and then float it off the coast of Spain, whose nominally neutral government was known to cooperate with the *Abwehr*, the German military intelligence organisation. The plan was passed by the committee, who passed it up the chain of command to the senior Allied strategists; Montagu and Cholmondeley were



ordered to continue with their preparations for the operation.

#### Naval identity card of Major Martin

Montagu and Cholmondeley began to create a "legend" – a fictitious background and character – for the body. The name and rank chosen was Captain (Acting Major) William Martin, of the Royal Marines assigned to Combined Operations Headquarters.

The name "Martin" was selected because there were several men with that name of about that rank in the Royal Marines. As a Royal Marine, Major Martin came under Admiralty authority, and it would be easy to ensure that all official inquiries and messages about his death would be routed to the Naval Intelligence Division. Additionally, Royal Marines would wear battledress, which was easily obtainable and came in standard sizes. The rank of acting major made him senior enough to be entrusted with sensitive documents, but not so prominent that anyone would expect to know him.

To reinforce the impression of Martin being a real person, Montagu and Cholmondeley provided corroborative details to be carried on his person – known in espionage circles as wallet or pocket litter. These included a photograph from an invented fiancée named Pam; the image was of an MI5 clerk, Jean Leslie. Two love letters from Pam were included



Photograph of the fictitious girlfriend Pam, carried by Martin.

in the pocket litter, as was a receipt for a diamond engagement ring costing £53 10s 6d from a Bond Street jewellery shop. Additional personal correspondence was included, consisting of a letter from the fictitious Martin's father – described by Macintyre as "pompous and pedantic as only an Edwardian father could be" which included a note from the family solicitor, and a message from Lloyds Bank, demanding payment of an overdraft of £79 19s 2d. To ensure that the letters would remain legible after immersion in seawater, Montagu asked MI5 scientists to conduct tests on different inks to see which would last longest in the water, and they provided him with a suitable list of popular and available ink brands.

Other items of pocket litter placed on Martin included a book of stamps, a silver cross and a St. Christopher's medallion, cigarettes, matches, a pencil stub, keys and a receipt from Gieves for a new shirt. To provide a date that Martin had been in London, ticket stubs from a London theatre and a bill for four nights' lodging at the Naval and Military Club were added. Along with the other items placed on him, an itinerary of his activity in London could be constructed from 18 to 24 April. Attempts were made to photograph the corpse for the naval identity card Martin would have to carry, but the results were unsatisfactory, and it was obvious that the images were of a cadaver. Montagu and Cholmondeley conducted a search for people who resembled the corpse, finding Captain Ronnie Reed of MI5; Reed agreed to be photographed for the identity card, wearing Royal Marine uniform. As the three cards and passes needed looked too new for a long-serving officer, they were issued as recent replacements for lost originals. Montagu spent the next few weeks rubbing all three cards on his trousers to provide a used sheen to them. To provide a used look to the uniform, it was worn by Cholmondeley, who was about the same build. The only non-issue part to the uniform was the underwear, which was in short supply in war-rationed Britain, so a pair of good-quality woollen underwear, owned by the late Herbert Fisher, the Warden of New College, Oxford, was used.

### Deception documents

Montagu outlined three criteria for the document that contained the details of the falsified plans to land in the Balkans. He said that the target should be casually but clearly identified, that it should name Sicily and another location as cover, and that it should be in an unofficial correspondence that would not normally be sent by diplomatic courier, or encoded signal.

The main document was a personal letter from Lieutenant General Sir Archibald Nye, vice chief of the Imperial General Staff – who had a deep knowledge of ongoing military operations – to General Sir Harold Alexander, commander of the Anglo-American 18th Army Group in Algeria and Tunisia under General Eisenhower. After several attempts at drafting the document did not generate something that was considered natural, it was suggested that Nye should draw up the letter himself to cover the required points. The letter covered several purportedly sensitive subjects, such as the (unwanted) award of Purple Heart medals by US forces to British servicemen serving with them and the appointment of a new commander of the Brigade of Guards. Montagu thought the result was "quite brilliant" the key part of the letter stated that:

*We have recent information that the Boche [the Germans] have been reinforcing and*



strengthening their defences in Greece and Crete and C.I.G.S. [Chief of the Imperial General Staff] felt that our forces for the assault were insufficient. It was agreed by the Chiefs of Staff that the 5th Division should be reinforced by one Brigade Group for the assault on the beach south of CAPE ARAXOS and that a similar reinforcement should be made for the 56th division at KALAMATA.

Nye's letter also contained several references to an Operation "Brimstone", whose objective was not specified, but for which the preparatory bombardment of Sicily's airfields was to be diversionary cover.

There was also a letter of introduction for Martin from his putative commanding officer, Vice-Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten, the chief of combined operations, to Admiral of the Fleet Sir Andrew Cunningham, the commander-in-chief Mediterranean Fleet and Allied naval commander in the Mediterranean. Martin was referred to in the letter as an amphibious warfare expert on loan until "the assault is over". The document included a clumsy joke about sardines, which Montagu inserted in the hope that the Germans would see it as a reference to a planned invasion of Sardinia. A single black eyelash was placed within the letter to check if the Germans or Spanish had opened it.



Vice Admiral Louis Mountbatten,  
Martin's putative commanding officer

Montagu considered that there would be a possible "Roman Catholic prejudice against tampering with corpses" which could miss the documents stored in the corpse's pockets, so they added them to an official briefcase that would not be overlooked. To justify carrying documents in a briefcase, Major Martin was given two proof copies of the official pamphlet on combined operations written by the author Hilary Saunders – then on Mountbatten's staff – and a letter from Mountbatten to Eisenhower, asking him to write a brief foreword for the pamphlet's US edition. The planning team first thought of having the handle clutched in the corpse's hand, held in place by *rigor mortis*, but the rigor would probably wear off and the briefcase would drift away. They therefore equipped Martin with a leather-covered chain, such as was used by bank and jewellery couriers to secure their cases against snatching. The chain unobtrusively runs down a sleeve to the case. To Montagu it seemed unlikely that the major would keep the bag secured to his wrist during the long flight from Britain, so the chain was looped around the belt of his trench coat.

### Technical considerations; strategic approval

Montagu and Cholmondeley gave consideration to the location of the corpse's delivery. It had long been assumed by the pair that the western coast of Spain would be the ideal location. Early in the planning they investigated the possibility of Portuguese and French coasts, but rejected those in favour of Huelva on the coast of southern Spain, after advice was taken from the Hydrographer of the Navy regarding the tides and currents best suited to ensure the body landed where it was wanted. Montagu later outlined that the choice of Huelva was also made because "there was a very active German agent ... who had excellent contacts with certain Spaniards, both officials and others". The agent – Adolf Clauss, a member of the *Abwehr* – was the son of the German consul, and operated under the cover of an agriculture technician; he was an efficient and effective operative. Huelva was also chosen because the British vice-consul in the city, Francis Haselden, was "a reliable and helpful man" who could be relied upon, according to Montagu. The officers of HMS *Seraph*, the submarine were selected for the operation, on board in December 1943

The body was supposed to be the victim of an aeroplane crash, and it was decided that to try and simulate the accident at sea using flares and other devices could be too risky and open to discovery. After seaplanes and surface ships were dismissed as being problematic, a submarine was chosen as the method of delivering the corpse to the region. To transport the body by submarine, it needed to be contained within the body of the boat, as any externally mounted container would have to be built with a skin so thick it would alter the level of the waterline. The canister needed to remain airtight and keep the corpse as fresh as possible through its journey. Spilsbury provided the medical requirements and Cholmondeley contacted Charles Fraser-Smith of the Ministry of Supply to produce the container, which was labelled "Handle with care: optical instruments".

On 13 April 1943 the committee of the Chiefs of Staff met and agreed that they thought the plan should proceed. The committee informed Colonel John Bevan – the head of London Controlling Section, which controlled the planning and co-ordination of deception operations – that he needed to obtain final approval from Churchill. Two days later Bevan met the Prime Minister – who was in bed, wearing a dressing gown and smoking a cigar – in his rooms at the Cabinet War offices and explained the plan. He warned Churchill that there were several aspects that could go wrong, including that the Spaniards might pass the corpse back to the British, with the papers unread. Churchill replied that

"in that case we shall have to get the body back and give it another swim". Churchill gave his approval to the operation, but delegated the final confirmation to Eisenhower, the overall military commander in the Mediterranean, whose plan to invade Sicily would be affected. Bevan sent an encrypted telegram to Eisenhower's headquarters in Algeria requesting final confirmation, which was received on 17 April.

## Execution

In the early hours of 17 April 1943 the corpse of Michael was dressed as Martin, although there was one last-minute hitch: the feet had frozen. Purchase, Montagu and Cholmondeley could not put the boots on, so an electric fire was located and the feet defrosted enough to put the boots on properly. The pocket litter was placed on the body, and the briefcase attached. The body was placed in the canister, filled with 21 pounds (9.5 kg) of dry ice and sealed up.

When the dry ice sublimated, it filled the canister with carbon dioxide and drove out any oxygen, thus preserving the body without refrigeration. The canister was placed in the 1937 Fordson van of an MI5 driver St. John "Jock" Horsfall, who had been a racing champion before the war. Cholmondeley and Montagu travelled in the back of the van, which drove through the night to Greenock, west Scotland, where the canister was taken on board the submarine HMS *Seraph*. *Seraph's* commander, Lt. Bill Jewell, and crew had previous special operations experience. Jewell told his men that the canister contained a top secret meteorological device to be deployed near Spain.



**The corpse of Glyndwr Michael, dressed as Martin, just prior to placement in the canister**

On 19 April *Seraph* set sail and arrived just off the coast of Huelva on 29 April after having been bombed twice en route. After spending the day reconnoitring the coastline, at 4:15 am on 30 April, *Seraph* surfaced. Jewell had the canister brought up on deck, then sent all his crew below except the officers. They opened the container and lowered the body into the water. Jewell read Psalm 39 and ordered the engines to full astern; the wash from the screws pushed the corpse toward the shore. The canister was reloaded and the submarine travelled 12 miles out where it surfaced and the empty container was pushed into the water. As it floated, it was riddled with machine gun fire so that it would sink. Because of the air trapped in the insulation, this effort failed, and the canister was destroyed with plastic explosives. Jewell afterwards sent a message to the Admiralty to say "Mincemeat completed", and continued on to Gibraltar.

## Spanish handling of the corpse and the ramifications

The body of "Major Martin" was found at around 9:30 am on 30 April 1943 by a local fisherman; it was taken to Huelva by Spanish soldiers, where it was handed over to a naval judge. Haselden, as vice-consul, was officially informed by the Spaniards; he reported back to the Admiralty that the body and briefcase had been found. A series of pre-scripted diplomatic cables were sent between Haselden and his superiors, which continued for several days. The British knew that these were being intercepted and, although they were encrypted, the Germans had broken the code; the messages played out the story that it was imperative that Haselden retrieve the briefcase because it was important.

At midday on 1 May an autopsy was undertaken on Michael's body; Haselden was present and – in order to minimise the possibilities that the two Spanish doctors identified that the body was a three-month old corpse – Haselden asked if, in the heat of the day and smell of the corpse, the doctors should bring the post mortem to a close and have lunch. They agreed and signed a death certificate for Major William Martin for "asphyxiation through immersion in the sea"; the body was released by the Spanish and, as Major Martin, was buried in the San Marco section of Nuestra Señora cemetery in Huelva, with full military honours on 2 May.

**Admiral Wilhelm Canaris**, the head of the *Abwehr*, who intervened to obtain the Mincemeat documents.

The Spanish navy retained the briefcase and, despite pressure from Adolf Clauss and some of his *Abwehr* agents, neither it nor its contents were handed over to the Germans. On 5 May the briefcase was passed to the naval headquarters at San Fernando near Cadiz, for forwarding to Madrid. While at San Fernando the contents were photographed by German sympathisers, but the letters were not opened. Once the briefcase arrived in Madrid, its contents became the focus of attention of Karl-Erich K hlenthal, one of the most senior *Abwehr* agents in Spain.

He asked admiral Wilhelm Canaris, the head of the *Abwehr*, to personally intervene and persuade the Spanish to surrender the documents. Acceding to the request, the Spanish removed the still-damp paper by tightly winding it





around a probe into a cylindrical shape, and then pulling it out between the envelope flap – which was still closed by a wax seal – and the envelope body. The letters were dried and photographed, then soaked in salt water for 24 hours before being re-inserted into their envelopes, without the eyelash that had been planted there. The information was passed to the Germans on 8 May. This was deemed so important by the *Abwehr* agents in Spain that Kühlenthal personally took the documents to Germany.

On 11 May the briefcase, complete with the documents, was returned to Haselden by the Spanish authorities; he forwarded it to London in the diplomatic bag. On receipt the documents were forensically examined, and the missing eyelash noted.

Further tests showed that the fibres in the paper had been damaged by folding more than once, which confirmed that the letters had been extracted and read. An additional test was made as the papers – still wet by the time they returned to London – were dried out: the folded paper dried into the rolled form it had when the Spaniards had extracted it from the envelope. To allay any potential German fears that their activities had been discovered, another pre-arranged encrypted but breakable cable was sent to Haselden stating that the envelopes had been examined and that they had not been opened; Haselden leaked the news to Spaniards known to be sympathetic to the Germans.

Final proof that the Germans had been passed the information from the letters came on 14 May when a German communication was decrypted by the Ultra source of signals intelligence produced by the Government Code and Cypher School (GC&CS) at Bletchley Park. The message, which had been sent two days previously, warned that the invasion was to be in the Balkans, with a feint to the Dodecanese. A message was sent by Brigadier Leslie Hollis – the secretary to the Chiefs of Staff Committee – to Churchill, then in the United States. It read "Mincemeat swallowed rod, line and sinker by the right people and from the best information they look like acting on it." Montagu continued the deception to reinforce the existence of Major Martin, and included his details in the published list of British casualties which appeared in *The Times* on 4 June. By coincidence, also published that day were the names of two other officers who had died when their plane was lost at sea, and opposite the casualty listings was a report that the film star Leslie Howard had been shot down by the Luftwaffe and died in the Bay of Biscay; both stories gave credence to the Major Martin story.

### German reaction and outcome

On 14 May 1943 Grand Admiral Karl Dönitz met Hitler to discuss Dönitz's recent visit to Italy, his meeting with the Italian leader Benito Mussolini and the progress of the war. The Admiral, referring to the Mincemeat documents as the "Anglo-Saxon order", recorded:

***The Führer does not agree with Mussolini that the most likely invasion point is Sicily. Furthermore, he believes that the discovered Anglo-Saxon order confirms the assumption that the planned attacks will be directed mainly against Sardinia and the Peloponnesus.***

Hitler informed Mussolini that Greece, Sardinia and Corsica must be defended "at all costs", and that German troops would be best placed to do the job. He ordered that the experienced 1st Panzer Division be transferred from France to Salonika. The order was intercepted by GC&CS on 21 May. By the end of June, German troop strength on Sardinia had been doubled to 10,000, with fighter aircraft also based there as support. Two panzer divisions were moved to the Balkans from the Eastern Front; German torpedo boats were moved from Sicily to the Greek islands in preparation. Seven German divisions transferred to Greece, raising the number present to eight, and ten were posted to the Balkans, raising the number present to eighteen.

On 9 July the Allies invaded Sicily in Operation Husky. German signals intercepted by GC&CS showed that even four hours after the invasion of Sicily began, twenty-one aircraft left Sicily to reinforce Sardinia. For a considerable time after the initial invasion, Hitler was still convinced that an attack on the Balkans was imminent, and in late July he sent General Erwin Rommel to Salonika to prepare the defence of the region. By the time the German high command realised the mistake, it was too late to make a difference.

### Aftermath

On 25 July 1943, as the battle for Sicily went against the Axis forces, the Italian Grand Council of Fascism voted to limit the power of Mussolini, and handed control of the Italian armed forces over to King Victor Emmanuel III. The following day Mussolini met the King, who dismissed him as prime minister; the former dictator was then imprisoned. A new Italian government took power and began secret negotiations with the Allies. Sicily fell on 17 August after a force of

65,000 Germans held off 400,000 American and British troops long enough to allow many of the Germans to evacuate to the Italian mainland.

The military historian Jon Latimer observes that the relative ease with which the allies captured Sicily was not entirely because of Mincemeat, or the wider deception of Operation Barclay. Latimer identifies other factors, including Hitler's distrust of the Italians, and his unwillingness to risk German troops alongside Italian troops who may have been on the point of a general surrender. The military historian Michael Howard, while describing Mincemeat as "perhaps the most successful single deception operation of the entire war" considered Mincemeat and Barclay to have less impact on the course of the Sicily campaign than Hitler's "congenital obsession with the Balkans". Macintyre writes that the exact impact of Mincemeat is impossible to calculate.

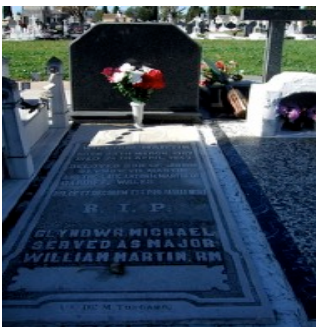
Although the British had expected 10,000 killed or wounded in the first week of fighting, only a seventh of that number became casualties; the navy expected 300 ships would be sunk in the action, but they lost 12. The predicted 90-day campaign was over in 38.

Smyth writes that as a result of Husky, Hitler suspended the Kursk offensive on 13 July. This was partly because of the performance of the Soviet army, but partly because he still assumed that the Allied landing on Sicily was a feint that preceded the invasion in the Balkans, and he wanted to have troops available for fast deployment to meet them. Smyth observes that once Hitler gave up the initiative to the Soviets, he never regained it.

## Legacy

Montagu was appointed an Officer of the Order of the British Empire in 1944 for his part in Operation Mincemeat; for masterminding the plan, Cholmondeley was appointed a Member of the Order in 1948. Duff Cooper, a former cabinet minister who had been briefed on the operation in March 1943, published the spy novel *Operation Heartbreak* (1950), which contained the plot device of a corpse – with papers naming him as William Maryngton – being floated off the coast of Spain with false documents to deceive the Germans. The British security services decided that the best response was to publish the story of Mincemeat. Over the course of a weekend Montagu wrote *The Man Who Never Was* (1953), which sold two million copies and formed the basis for a 1956 film.

The security services did not give Montagu complete freedom to reveal operational details, and he was careful not to mention the role played by signals intelligence to confirm that the operation had been successful. He was also careful to obscure "the idea of an organised programme of strategic deception ... with Mincemeat being presented as a 'wild' one-off caper". In 1977 Montagu published *Beyond Top Secret U*, his wartime autobiography which gave further details of Mincemeat, among other operations.



In 1977 the Commonwealth War Graves Commission took responsibility for Major Martin's grave in Huelva. In 1997 the Commission added the postscript "Glyndwr Michael served as Major William Martin RM".

### Grave of Glyndwr Michael in Huelva, Spain

Lt. Col. Thomas Argyll 'Tar' Robertson died on May 10, 1994, and was laid to rest in the churchyard of St John at Birlingham, near Pershore. A leafy, picturesque corner of Worcestershire in a loop of the river Avon with one pub and a cricket pitch on the village green. In a way, the epitome of what the gentleman spymaster and his colleagues had determined to defend. Among the many successes of his spy mastering during the Second World War were fooling the Germans over the location of the D-Day landings and deceiving them into changing the target areas of the V1 and V2 rockets, thereby saving thousands of civilian casualties.

The policy of MI5 during the war was initially to use the system for counter-espionage. It was only later that its potential for deception purposes was realised. Of the agents from the German intelligence services, Abwehr and *Sicherheitsdienst* (SD), some were apprehended, while many of the agents who reached British shores turned themselves in to the authorities; others were apprehended after they made elementary mistakes during their operations. In addition, some were false agents who had tricked the Germans into believing they would spy for them if they helped them reach England (e.g., Treasure, Fido). Later agents were instructed to contact agents who, unknown to the Abwehr, were controlled by the British. The Abwehr and SD sent agents over by parachute drop, submarine, or travel via neutral countries. The last route was most commonly used, with agents often impersonating refugees. After

the war, it was discovered that all the agents Germany sent to Britain had given themselves up or had been captured, with the possible exception of one who committed suicide.

### **Codebreaking at Bletchley Park first took place in September 1938.**

On 18 September 1938, a small group of people moved into the Mansion under the cover story that they were a shooting party. They had an air of friends enjoying a relaxed weekend together at a country house. They even brought with them one of the best chefs from the Savoy Hotel to cook their food. Behind the cover were members of MI6 and the Government Code and Cypher School (GC & CS), a secret team including a number of scholars and academics turned Codebreakers. As tensions in Europe peaked, Admiral Sinclair, Director of GC & CS and SIS, had activated their War Station: Bletchley Park. The group's job was to set up and run intelligence activity from Bletchley Park. They responded quickly, transmitting their first message at 6 pm on the day they arrived. As tensions eased, the War Station was stood down. The group returned to their London offices on 9 October.

### **Cottage Industry.**

Work began in the Mansion and its outbuildings, with a staff of around 150 people. As more and more people arrived to join the codebreaking operations, the various sections began to move into large pre-fabricated wooden huts set up on the lawns of the Park. For security reasons, the various sections were known only by their hut numbers. The first operational break into Enigma came around the 23 January 1940, when the team working under Dilly Knox, with the mathematicians John Jeffreys, Peter Twinn and Alan Turing, unravelled the German Army administrative key that became known at Bletchley Park as 'The Green'. Encouraged by this success, the Codebreakers managed to crack the 'Red' key used by the Luftwaffe (German air force). In addition to German codes, Italian and later Japanese systems were also broken.



In October 1941 after receiving a letter from some of the senior codebreakers decrying the lack of resources being afforded them, Prime Minister Winston Churchill directed:

***'Make sure they have all they want extreme priority and report to me that this has been done.'***

From that moment on Bletchley Park began receiving a huge influx of resources and a major building programme ensued to create the space to house the ever increasing workforce. Brick and concrete blocks were built for staff, and Outstations created to house the growing number of 'Bombe' machines in use finding Enigma 'Keys'. The 'Bombes' were operated by Wrens, many of whom lived in requisitioned country houses such as Woburn Abbey. Codebreaking had been turned into an 'industrial' process.

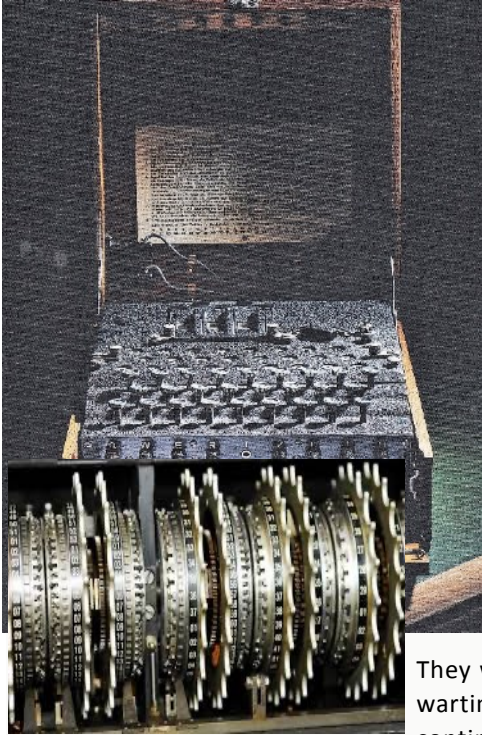
### **Bletchley Park was vital to Allied victory in World War Two.**

The Government Code and Cypher School (GC&CS) devised methods to enable the Allied forces to decipher the military codes and ciphers that secured German, Japanese, and other Axis nation's communications. This produced vital intelligence in support of Allied military operations on land, at sea and in the air. Bletchley Park also heralded the birth of the information age with the industrialisation of the codebreaking processes enabled by machines such as the Turing/Welchman Bombe, and the world's first electronic computer, Colossus.

At the end of the War the expertise developed at Bletchley Park was taken forward in the organisation known now as the Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ). This highly efficient intelligence-gathering machine is aided by the special relationship with America, the genesis of which came from collaboration at Bletchley Park. Today Bletchley Park is a heritage site designed to preserve the uniquely important story of these Codebreakers during WW2.

### **The Enigma machine was invented by a German Engineer Arthur Scherbius shortly after WW1.**

The machine (of which a number of varying types were produced) resembled a typewriter. It had a lamp board above the keys with a lamp for each letter. The operator pressed the key for the plaintext letter of the message



and the enciphered letter lit up on the lamp board. It was adopted by the German armed forces between 1926 and 1935.

The machine contained a series of interchangeable rotors, which rotated every time a key was pressed to keep the cipher changing continuously. This was combined with a plug board on the front of the machine where pairs of letters were transposed, these two systems combined offered 159 million, million, million possible settings to choose from, which the Germans believed made Enigma unbreakable.

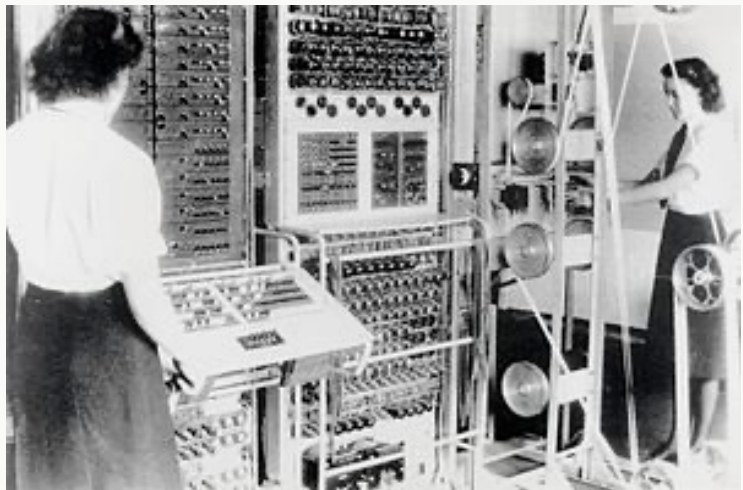
The Poles had broken Enigma in as early as 1932, but in 1939 with the prospect of war, the Poles decided to inform the British of their successes. Dilly Knox, one of the former British World War One Codebreakers, was convinced he could break the system and set up an Enigma Research Section, comprising himself and Tony Kendrick, later joined by Peter Twinn, Alan Turing and Gordon Welchman.

They worked in the stable yard at Bletchley Park and that is where the first wartime Enigma messages were broken in January 1940. Enigma traffic continued to be broken routinely at Bletchley Park for the remainder of the

war.

### **Perhaps Bletchley Park's greatest success was breaking the Germans' strategic ciphers.**

These complex ciphers were used to secure communications between Berlin and Army commanders in the field. Messages consisted of teleprinter code enciphered with the highly complex Lorenz cypher machine. The intelligence value of breaking into these was immense. Initial efforts were successful, but were done by hand but could not keep up with the volume of intercepts. Under Professor Max Newman the 'Newmanry' started to devise machines to mechanise the process. This ultimately led to the design and construction by the brilliant General Post Office (GPO) engineer Tommy Flowers of 'Colossus', the world's first semi-programmable electronic computer. Breaking



into these ciphers allowed the Allied staff planning for the invasion of Europe to obtain unprecedented detail of the German defences, and to see into the minds of the enemy commanders including Hitler himself.

### **Japanese codes were a longstanding interest of GC&CS.**

Japanese codes were broken as early as the 1920s, and Japan was a particular target for intelligence efforts due to the naval competition between the US, UK and Japan in the inter-war period. Japanese codes improved throughout the period of GC & CS operations but the codebreakers, with American help, were able to keep pace.

British codebreaking operations were initially carried out in Singapore, and then later Colombo, and Kilindini in Kenya. In addition increasing amounts of work were carried out at Bletchley Park itself, first on diplomatic and Naval traffic and later on Japanese Army and Airforce messages. In addition to providing information about their own operations, Japanese messages also reported on German activities via their Military and Naval Attaches in Germany. This traffic provided significant advance warning of the German attack on the Soviet Union in 1941, and later provided a mass of vital information about the German defensive plans in France prior to the D-Day invasion.

### **Bletchley Park did not only attack high level machine cyphers.**

The intelligence produced at Bletchley Park came from a wide range of sources, not just from the German



Enigma and Tunny messages, but also from other German, Italian and Japanese codes and ciphers, as well as messages in plain text or voice. The low-level German ciphers broken in the Military Section included those detailing the actions of German police troops killing large numbers of Jews in the Soviet Union in what was the start of the Holocaust.

Naval Section in Hut 4 broke many German and Italian low-level codes and ciphers. It also carried out important 'Traffic Analysis', the collection and interpretation of data on the locations of the radio stations and from operator chatter, which frequently gave vital intelligence away. Reporting from Hut 4 played an important role in the sinking of the German battleship the Bismarck in May 1941.

The Air Section run by Josh Cooper carried out 'Traffic Analysis' and breaking low-level codes and ciphers which produced vital intelligence on Luftwaffe plans during the Battle of Britain and the Blitz, and supported allied bombing raids.

### **Diplomatic messages sent by both Allies and Enemies were also broken by GC&CS**

Deciphering diplomatic cables had been the main task of GC & CS between the wars, and this work continued after the move to Bletchley Park. Diplomatic Section was moved in late 1939 into Elmer's School, a former school building adjacent to the park. Later, in 1942 Diplomatic and Commercial work returned to London and was housed at 6-9 Berkeley Street in Mayfair. It was at this time that Alistair Denniston took over the section after he stepped down as head of Bletchley Park.

Some diplomatic communications were sent from Embassies based in London by radio and these were intercepted by a Metropolitan Police intercept station based in Denmark Hill, south London, and sent to the codebreakers. But most were sent in enciphered telegrams which travelled via the international telephone and telegraph cables. Many international telephone and telegraph lines were controlled by the British company Cable and Wireless and two US companies operating in the UK. The Germans, Japanese and the Italians still used them believing that because their telegrams were all enciphered they were unreadable. Some cables were cut, but key ones remained, so for example the Japanese Ambassador's reports about the Normandy defences, and those of his Army and Navy colleagues, all went by cable via Malta, where they were printed out and sent back to Bletchley. Similarly large numbers of telegrams for and from Japanese and German Embassies in the Americas went through Bermuda where we also printed them out and sent them back to the UK.



### **Early GC&CS also produced secure codes for the Allies**

This work was originally carried out at Broadway Buildings in London, the pre-war home of GC & CS. When the codebreakers moved to Bletchley Park, a separate team of 20 code makers known as the 'Code and Cipher Production Unit' moved to Mansfield College Oxford. The team later grew to around 40 staff, led by Royal Navy Pay Commander Edward Hok.

The team were responsible for producing 'communications security materials', which included cipher keys, code books, and one time pads. The latter involved compiling long lists of random numbers, a time consuming and tedious task. One advantage of being in Oxford was that the team were near the Oxford University Press, who were able secretly to print copies of the codes and ciphers, as well as printing forms and documents required by the Codebreakers at Bletchley Park.

### **Nearly 10,000 people worked in the wider Bletchley Park organisation**

At first GC&CS followed its pre-war recruitment policy, and looked for 'Men and women of a professor type' through contacts at Oxford and Cambridge universities. Many famous Codebreakers including Alan Turing, Gordon Welchman and Bill Tutte were found this way. Others such as Dilly Knox and Nigel de Grey had started their codebreaking careers in WW1. The organisation started in 1939 with only around 150 staff, but soon grew rapidly.

As the codebreaking process became more mechanised, and the volume of intercepts grew, many more staff were recruited from a wider range of sources. A significant proportion of these were recruited from the



Women's Services; the WRNS, the ATS and the WAAF. By 1945, 75% of the staff of Bletchley Park were women, and of these six out of ten were in uniform. The remainder were recruited through the Civil Service. As a consequence civilians and uniformed personnel worked alongside each other in most sections. A small group of American service personnel were also brought over and integrated into a number of the Sections. This was the first time many of the UK staff had met an American, but the visitors fitted in very well.

### **Enemy messages were obtained by the 'Y' Service, a chain of wireless intercept stations...**

... across Britain and in a number of countries overseas.

Thousands of wireless operators, many of them civilians but also Wrens, WAAF personnel and members of the ATS, tracked the enemy radio nets up and down the dial, carefully logging every letter or figure. The messages were then sent back to Bletchley Park (Station X) to be deciphered, translated and fitted together like a gigantic jigsaw puzzle to produce as complete a picture as possible of what the enemy was doing. The main Royal Navy sites were at Scarborough and Flowerdown, near Winchester, the army site was at Chatham in Kent and the RAF site was at Cheadle in Staffordshire. A number of new sites were set up around the country at the outbreak of war. There were also several British intercept sites overseas at Malta, Cairo, and Sarafand in Palestine, and for Japanese traffic at Abbottabad and Delhi in India, at Singapore, and later at Colombo and Mombasa. These intercept stations all worked closely with Bletchley Park.

There were also intercept operators based on ships and mobile army intercept units with British forces on the ground in the various theatres of war around the world. A lot of intelligence could be worked out from what the radio operators were saying to each other and their locations could be tracked down using radio direction-finding equipment. But most of the important messages were in code or cipher and had to be decrypted.

### **After interception, the encrypted messages were taken down on paper and sent to...**

... Bletchley Park by motorcycle or teleprinter. The various messages were then sent to the relevant sections – all German naval messages, for example, went to the Naval Section, all German Air Force messages went to the Air Section. The sections noted down all of the details from the message for inclusion in a central index. They also analysed what the enemy wireless operators said to each other. This process, part of what is known as 'Traffic Analysis', often produced very important intelligence.

All Army and Air Force Enigma messages went to Hut 6 where the details of each message were taken down and indexed. A separate 'Traffic Analysis' section known as SIXTA worked as part of Hut 6 to analyse the communications around the messages and throw up clues for the codebreakers.

Naval Enigma messages went to both Hut 8, where they were broken, and to Hut 4, which carried out a similar 'Traffic Analysis' process to SIXTA for the Hut 8 naval codebreakers.

Later in the war all enciphered Tunny teleprinter messages went to the Newmanry and the Testery where they were deciphered with the assistance of the 'Colossus' machine.

### **Bletchley Park did not just decrypt messages, the contents had to be analysed**

Even when decrypted and translated, most intercepted messages did not make immediate sense. The contained acronyms and abbreviations, and often referred to information contained in other messages, or already known to the recipient. All of the information in each message was carefully collated, and recorded on index cards. These cards built up into a vast catalogue of enemy units, places, individuals, ships, aircraft, new items of equipment, and other significant details. This allowed the codebreakers to understand the full implications of a message, and build up a wider picture of enemy activity.

In turn this knowledge also helped the Codebreakers to decide which messages were most important to intercept, or to decode each day. With thousands of messages passing through the various huts this was vital so that nothing important was missed. In the case of Army and Airforce messages this analysis would help in the drafting of the signals sent out as ULTRA, which often contained information from more than one message.

### **The final step in the codebreaking process was to send the resulting top secret...**

... intelligence to the relevant people. Bletchley Park turned the analysed information into intelligence reports and passed them on – the Codebreakers themselves did not decide how to act on them. Intelligence from complex ciphers such as Enigma was codenamed Ultra. To prevent the enemy finding out their ciphers had been broken, BP's reports were often made to look as if they had come from spies working abroad. Material was passed to MI6 but also direct to the Admiralty, the War Office or the Air Ministry, and to some commands depending on the content of the reports.

Special Liaison Units and their associated communications specialists, the Special Communication Units, were also set up to feed the Bletchley Park intelligence to commanders in the field, first briefly in France in May 1940 and then in North Africa and elsewhere from March 1941 onwards.

Based at military command posts around the world, these units received the Ultra reports from MI6 via secure links which used either the British Typex cipher machine or one-time pad cipher. Officers from the Special Liaison Units then passed the intelligence directly to the commanders to ensure the Ultra secret was protected.

### **Intelligence from Bletchley Park was vital in the Allies' land battles**

It was in North Africa where Bletchley Park came into its own, assisted by its outpost in Cairo, the Combined Bureau Middle-East. Enigma decrypts provided vital intelligence to the British generals throughout the campaign. The Codebreakers also made a vital contribution to D-Day. The ability to read Japanese diplomatic and naval and military attaché cyphers provided military commanders with full details of the German defences in Normandy. The 'Fish' enciphered teleprinter links from Berlin to the battle fronts also gave details of German plans laid down by Hitler and passed to his commanders.

The breaking of the ciphers of the German Secret Intelligence Service allowed the British to confuse Hitler over where the Allies were to land. His decision to divert troops away from the Normandy beaches undoubtedly helped secure the invasion's success.

General Dwight D. Eisenhower, Supreme Allied Commander of Allied forces wrote:

*'The intelligence which has emanated from you before and during the campaign has been of priceless value to me. It has simplified my task as a commander enormously. It has saved thousands of British and American lives...'*

### **Breaking German, Italian and Japanese naval codes was vital to the war effort**

The intelligence produced by deciphering Naval Enigma was passed to the Admiralty by Naval Section. In the early days, they struggled to get the naval commanders to take it seriously, but a series of spectacular successes turned things around for the Codebreakers. The second half of 1941 saw Hut 8, led by Alan Turing, make the breakthrough on the Dolphin Enigma key used by the U-Boats attacking the trans-Atlantic convoys. From then on, throughout the Battle of the Atlantic, they helped the Admiralty to track the U-Boat wolf packs, considerably reducing the German Navy's ability to sink the merchant navy ships bringing vital supplies to Britain from America.

In the Mediterranean, the Battle of Matapan in March 1941 was a direct result of Bletchley Park's break into the Italian Naval Enigma system, which led to a Royal Navy victory that restricted the Italian Navy's operations for the rest of the war. Also in the Far East, reading Japanese codes led to routine sinking of enemy ships.

### **Bletchley Park was able to read huge numbers of enemy air force messages**

This was Bletchley Park's first substantial contribution to the British war effort. The first Enigma messages to be successfully decrypted were from the German Luftwaffe. For example the breaking by Hut 6 of the Brown Enigma cypher allowed Bletchley Park to predict the targets and routes of the Luftwaffe bombers, which ensured that RAF fighter aircraft could ambush them on their way to their targets and that the authorities on the ground could anticipate and prepare for the raids, limiting the numbers of deaths and amount of damage so far as was possible.

Later in the war, Bletchley Park decrypts made a significant contribution to the Allied bombing offensive over Germany from 1943 onwards. Interception and analysis of transmissions from the German air defence network allowed British and American bomber routes and tactics to be refined, to minimise losses. False broadcasts were also made to confuse the enemy system.

### **Agents**

Following a July 1940 conference in Kiel, the Abwehr (German intelligence) began an espionage campaign against Britain involving intelligence gathering and sabotage. Spies were sent over from Europe in various ways; some parachuted or came off a submarine. Others entered the country on false passports or posing as refugees.<sup>[2]</sup> Public perception in Britain was that the country was full of well-trained German spies, who were deeply integrated into society. There was widespread "spy-mania", as Churchill put it. The truth was that between September and November 1940 fewer than twenty five agents arrived in the country; mostly of Eastern European extraction, badly trained and poorly motivated.

The agents were not difficult to spot and it became easier still when the German Enigma machine encryption was broken. MI5, with advance warning of infiltration, had no trouble picking up almost all of the spies sent to the country.

Writing in 1972, John C. Masterman (who had, later in the war, headed the Twenty Committee) said that by 1941, MI5 "actively ran and controlled the German espionage system in [the United Kingdom]." It was not an idle boast; post-war records confirmed that none of the Abwehr agents, bar one who committed suicide, went unnoticed.

Once caught, the spies were deposited in the care of Lieutenant Colonel Robin Stephens at Camp 020 (Latchmere House, Richmond). After Stephens, a notorious and brilliant interrogator, had picked apart their life history, the agents were either spirited away (to be imprisoned or killed) or if judged acceptable, offered the chance to turn double agent on the Germans.

Control of the new double agents fell to Thomas Argyll Robertson (usually called Tar, from his initials), a charismatic MI5 agent. A Scot and something of a playboy, Robertson had some early experience with double agents; just prior to the war he had been case officer to Arthur Owens (code name Snow). Owens was an oddity and it became apparent that he was playing off the Germans and British, although to what end Robertson was unable to uncover. Robertson dispatched an ex RNAS officer called Walter Dicketts (code name Celery) to neutral Lisbon in early 1941 to meet Owens' German spymaster, Nikolaus Ritter from the Abwehr, to establish Owens' bona fides. Unknown to Dicketts, Owens had betrayed him to the Germans before Dicketts entered Germany to be interrogated by experts from the Abwehr in Hamburg. Although Dicketts managed to get himself recruited as a German agent (while continuing to report to MI5), Owens claimed that Dicketts' survival meant he had been 'turned' by the Germans. When both agents returned to England, Robertson and his team spent countless hours trying to establish which agent was telling the truth. In the end Owens was interned for endangering Dicketts' life and for revealing the important information that his German radio transmitter was controlled by MI5.

The whole affair resulted in the collapse of the entire Snow network comprising the double agents Owens, GW, Biscuit, Charlie, Summer and Celery. The experiment had not appeared to be a success but MI5 had learned lessons about how Abwehr operated and how double agents might be useful.

Robertson believed that turning German spies would have numerous benefits, disclosing what information Abwehr wanted and to mislead them as part of a military deception. It would also discourage them from sending more agents, if they believed an operational network existed. **Section B1A** (a subordinate of B section, under Guy Liddell) was formed and Robertson was put in charge of handling the double-agent program.

Robertson's first agents were not a success, Giraffe (George Graf) was never really used and Gander (Kurt Goose; MI5 had a penchant for amusingly relevant code names), had been sent to Britain with a radio that could only transmit and both were quickly decommissioned. The next two attempts were even more farcical; Gösta Caroli and Wulf Schmidt (a Danish citizen) landed, via parachute, in September 1940. The two were genuine Nazis, had trained together and were friends. Caroli was coerced into turning double in return for Schmidt's life being spared, whilst Schmidt was told that Caroli had sold him out and in anger swapped sides.

Caroli quickly became a problem, he attempted to strangle his MI5 handler before making an escape, carrying a canoe on a motorcycle. He vaguely planned to row to Holland but came unstuck after falling off the bike in front of a policeman. He was eventually recaptured and judged too much trouble to be used. Schmidt was more of a success; codenamed 'Tate', he continued to contact Germany until May 1945. These eccentric spies made Robertson aware that handling double agents was going to be a difficult task.

## Methods of operation

The main form of communication that agents used with their handlers was secret writing. Letters were intercepted by the postal censorship authorities and some agents were caught. Later in the war, wireless sets were provided by the Germans. Eventually transmissions purporting to be from one double agent were facilitated by transferring the operation of the set to the main headquarters of MI5. On the British side, the fight against the Abwehr and SD was made much easier by the breaking of German ciphers. Abwehr hand ciphers were cracked early in the war and SD hand ciphers and Abwehr Enigma ciphers followed. The signals intelligence allowed an accurate assessment of whether the double agents were really trusted by the Germans and what effect their information had.

A crucial aspect of the system was the need for genuine information to be sent along with the deception material. This need caused problems early in the war, with those who controlled the release of information, being reluctant to provide even a small amount of relatively innocuous genuine material. Later in the war, as the system became better organised, genuine information was integrated into the deception system. It was used to disguise the development of "Gee", the Allies' navigation aid for bombers. One of the agents sent genuine information about Operation Torch to the Germans. It was postmarked before the landing but due to delays deliberately introduced by the British authorities, the information did not reach the Germans until after the Allied troops were ashore. The information impressed the Germans as it appeared to date from before the attack, but it was militarily useless to them.

## Operation outside the United Kingdom

It was not only in the United Kingdom that the system was operated. A number of agents connected with the system were run in neutral Spain and Portugal. Some even had direct contact with the Germans in occupied Europe. One of the most famous of the agents who operated outside of the UK was Dušan Popov (*Tricycle*). There was even a case in which an agent started running deception operations independently from Portugal using little more than guidebooks, maps, and a very vivid imagination to convince his Abwehr handlers that he was spying in the UK. This agent, Juan Pujol García (*Garbo*), created a network of phantom sub-agents and eventually convinced the British authorities that he could be useful. He and his fictitious network were absorbed into the main double-cross system and he became so respected by Abwehr that they stopped landing agents in Britain after 1942. The Germans became dependent on the spurious information that was fed to them by Garbo's network and the other double-cross agents.

## Operation Fortitude and D-Day landings

The British put their double-agent network to work in support of Operation Fortitude, a plan to deceive the Germans about the location of the Normandy Landings in France. Allowing one of the double agents to claim to have stolen documents describing the invasion plans might have aroused suspicion. Instead, agents were allowed to report minutiae, such as insignia on soldiers' uniforms and unit markings on vehicles. The observations in the south-central areas largely gave accurate information about the units located there. Reports from south-west England indicated few troop sightings, when in reality many units were housed there. Reports from the south-east depicted the real and the notional Operation Quicksilver forces.

Any military planner would know that to mount an invasion of Europe from England, Allied units had to be staged around the country, with those that would land first placed nearest to the invasion point. German intelligence used the agent reports to construct an order of battle for the Allied forces, that placed the centre of gravity of the invasion force opposite Pas de Calais, the point on the French coast closest to England and therefore a likely invasion site. The deception was so effective that the Germans kept 15 divisions in reserve near Calais even after the invasion had begun, lest it prove to be a diversion from the main invasion at Calais. Early battle reports of insignia on Allied units only confirmed the information the double agents had sent, increasing the Germans' trust in their network. Agent Garbo was informed in radio messages from Germany after the invasion that he had been awarded the Iron Cross.

## V-weapons deception

The British noticed that, during the V-1 flying bomb attacks of 1944, the weapons were falling 2–3 mi (3.2–4.8 km) short of Trafalgar Square, the actual Luftwaffe aiming points such as Tower Bridge being unknown to the British. Duncan Sandys was told to get MI5-controlled German agents such as *Zig Zag* and *Tate* to report the V-1 impacts back to Germany. To make the Germans aim short, the British used the double agents to exaggerate the number of V-1s falling in the north and west of London and to under-report those falling in the south and east. Around 22 June, only one of seven impacts was reported south of the Thames, when  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the V-1s had fallen there. Although the Germans plotted a sample of V-1s which had radio transmitters, showing that they had fallen short, the telemetry was ignored in favour of the human intelligence.

When the Germans received a false double cross V-1 report that there was considerable damage in Southampton—which had not been a target—the V-1s were temporarily aimed at the south coast ports. The double cross deception had caused a *re-targeting* from London, not just inaccurate aiming. When V-1s launched from Heinkel He 111s at Southampton on 7 July, were inaccurate, British advisor Frederick Lindemann recommended that the agents report heavy losses, to save hundreds of Londoners each week at the expense of only a few lives in the ports. When the Cabinet learned of the deception on 15 August, Herbert Morrison ruled against it, saying that they had no right to decide that one man should die while another should survive. However R V Jones refused to call off the plan absent written orders, which never came, and the deception continued.

When the V-2 rocket blitz began with only a few minutes from launch to impact, the deception was enhanced by providing locations damaged by bombing, verifiable by aerial reconnaissance, for impacts in central London but each *time-tagged* with an earlier impact that had fallen 5–8 mi (8.0–12.9 km) short of central London. From mid-January to mid-February 1945, the mean point of V-2 impacts edged eastward at the rate of a couple of miles a week, with more and more V-2s falling short of central London. Of the V-2s aimed at London, more than half landed outside the London Civil Defence Region.

## John Cecil Masterman

**Sir John Cecil Masterman** OBE (12 January 1891 – 6 June 1977) was a noted academic, sportsman and author. His highest-profile role was as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, but he was also well-known as chairman of the Twenty Committee, which during the Second World War ran the Double-Cross System, controlling double agents in Britain.



Masterman was born in Kingston upon Thames, and educated at the Royal Naval College, Osborne, and Dartmouth, then at Worcester College, Oxford, where he read modern history. In 1914, at the outbreak of the First World War, he was an exchange lecturer at the University of Freiburg, and as a result spent four years interned as an enemy alien in the Ruhleben internment camp. During his internment, Masterman took the opportunity to further polish his German.

After his return from captivity, Masterman became a tutor in Modern History at Christ Church, Oxford, where he was also censor (1920–26). In the 1920s he became notable as a player of cricket, tennis, and hockey, participating in international competitions, and in 1931 toured Canada with the Marylebone Cricket Club; in Stephen Potter's book *Gamesmanship* he was acknowledged as a master gamesman.

After the Second World War Masterman returned to Oxford, becoming Provost of Worcester College (1946–61) and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford during 1957 and 1958. In 1959 he was knighted for his services to education.

## Two Oxford mysteries

### *An Oxford Tragedy*

In 1933, he wrote a murder mystery novel entitled *An Oxford Tragedy*, set in the fictional Oxford college of St. Thomas's. It was written in the point of view of an Oxford don named Francis Wheatley Winn, who was Senior Tutor at St. Thomas'. He served as Watson to the novel's Sherlock Holmes, an amateur sleuth named Ernst Brendel, a Viennese lawyer "of European reputation".

He was giving a series of lectures to the Law Faculty, as he had a good reputation as a detective with the quality of "a man to whom secrets will be confided". When an unpopular tutor was found shot in the Dean's rooms, he took it upon himself to solve the crime. He of course solved the case, and the murderer thus exposed committed suicide.

The novel itself was quite unusual for its time in providing an account of how murder affects the tranquil existence of Oxford dons. While it was a variation of the old theme of evil deeds done in a tranquil setting, it did establish the tradition of Oxford-based crime fiction, notably in the works of Michael Innes and Edmund Crispin.

### *The Case of the Four Friends*

Despite the acclaim that *An Oxford Tragedy* had garnered, Masterman did not publish a follow-up until 1957. The novel, again starring Ernst Brendel, was called *The Case of the Four Friends*, which is "a diversion in pre-detection".

In the novel, Brendel is persuaded by a group of friends to relate a story of how he "pre-constructed" a crime, rather than reconstructing it as in the conventional manner. As he says, "To work out the crime before it is committed, to foresee how it will be arranged, and then to prevent it! That's a triumph indeed and is worth more than all the convictions in the world".

His tale then was about four men, each of them either a potential victim or potential murderer. The pacing of the story is quite slow and the narrative is interrupted from time to time by discussion between Brendel and his listeners. Even so, the novel maintains its interest on the reader throughout, partly because of the originality of its approach.

This novel was the last of his crime stories and he wrote no more works of fiction. However, his best-known work was still to come, and it would involve his wartime experiences as part of the Twenty Committee.

## Revelations

Information about the double-cross system remained secret after the war. In 1958, Masterman began pressing the British intelligence establishment for permission to publish a book about it. Roger Hollis, the head of MI5 at that time, refused to authorize publication, as did Prime Minister Alec Douglas-Home.



However, Masterman was not to be deterred. Revelations about the Cambridge Spy Ring in the 1960s resulted in low morale throughout the intelligence community, and Masterman felt that the publication of a book about the double-cross system would restore public confidence. He pressed his suit once again on the matter. Masterman also received an Honorary Doctorate from Heriot-Watt University in 1966.

In April 1970, when the government again refused, he decided to have it published in the United States, where he felt he would be out of reach of the Official Secrets Act. He was supported by Norman Holmes Pearson, a member of the Yale University faculty, who nominated Yale University Press as publisher. Pearson was more than happy to help Masterman because he also served in the Twenty Committee (though not a member) as the wartime head of the counterintelligence division of the Office of Strategic Services. Yale had contributed many scholars and students to the OSS, and Chester B. Kerr, director of the press, saw the importance of the book historically and commercially.

For a time, British authorities threatened Masterman with legal action, but in the end bowed to the inevitable and allowed publication, with the proviso that sixty passages in the manuscript be deleted. Kerr would only acquiesce to a dozen. The book, *The Double-Cross System in the War of 1939–45*, was finally published in February 1972, with a foreword by Pearson, who guardedly did not refer to his work in the Committee. Masterman himself wrote the book without revealing anything about Ultra, still highly secret, that greatly aided the double-cross system. The ban on Ultra would be lifted in 1974.

### Dušan "Duško" Popov, OBE

(10 July 1912 – 10 August 1981) was a Serbian double agent who served as part of the MI6 and Abwehr during World War II, and passed off disinformation to Germany as part of the Double-Cross System.

Popov was born into a wealthy family and was a practicing lawyer at the start of the war. He held a great aversion to Nazism, and in 1940, infiltrated the Abwehr, Germany's military intelligence service, which considered him a valuable asset due to his business connections in France and the United Kingdom. Popov provided the Germans misleading and inaccurate information for much of the war.

Deceptions in which he participated included Operation Fortitude, which sought to convince German military planners that the Allied invasion of Europe would take place in Calais, not Normandy, thereby diverting hundreds of thousands of German troops and increasing the likelihood that Operation Overlord would succeed.

Popov was known for his promiscuous lifestyle and courted women during his missions, including the French actress Simone Simon. Apart from MI6 and the Abwehr, he also reported to the Yugoslav intelligence service, which assigned him the codename **Duško**. His German handlers referred to him by the codename **Ivan**. He was codenamed **Tricycle** by the British MI5 because he was the head of a group of three double agents.

In 1974, he published an autobiography titled *Spy/Counterspy*, in which he recounted his wartime exploits. Popov is considered one of Ian Fleming's primary inspirations for the character of James Bond. He has been the subject of a number of non-fiction books and documentaries.



### Early life

### Popov's passport photo, 1941

Dušan "Duško" Popov was born to a Serb family in Titel, Austria-Hungary on 10 July 1912. His parents were Milorad and Zora Popov. He had an older brother named Ivan ("Ivo") and a younger brother named Vladan. The family was exceedingly wealthy and owed its fortune to Popov's paternal grandfather, Omer, a wealthy banker and industrialist who founded a number of factories, mines, and retail businesses. They hailed from the village of Karlovo (now Novo Miloševo). Records from as early as 1773 describe them as the most affluent family there. Popov's father expanded the family's business interests to include real estate dealings. When Popov was an infant, the family left Titel and permanently relocated to their summer residence in Dubrovnik, which was their home for much of the year. They also had a manor in Belgrade, where they spent the winter months.

Popov's childhood coincided with a series of monumental political changes in the Balkans. In November 1918, Austria-Hungary disintegrated into a number of smaller states, and its Balkan possessions were incorporated into the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (renamed Yugoslavia in 1929). The newly established, Serb-led state was plagued by political infighting among its various constitutive ethnic groups, particularly Serbs and Croats, but also Hungarians and ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*). The young Popov and his family enjoyed a luxurious lifestyle and were far removed from the political turmoil in the country. They boasted a sizeable collection of villas and yachts, and were attended by

servants, even on their travels. Duško and his brothers spent most of their formative years along the Adriatic coast, and were avid athletes and outdoorsmen.

Popov's father indulged his sons, building a spacious villa by the sea for their exclusive use where they could entertain their friends and host expensive parties. He was also insistent that they receive a quality education. Apart from his native Serbian, Popov was fluent in Italian, German and French by his teenage years. Between the ages of 12 and 16, he attended a *lycée* in Paris. In 1929, Popov's father enrolled him into Ewell Castle, a prestigious preparatory school in Surrey. Popov's stint at the school proved to be short lived. After only four months, he was expelled following an altercation with a teacher. He had previously endured a caning at the teacher's hands after being caught smoking a cigarette. Another caning was adjudicated after Popov missed a detention, and so as to evade further corporal punishment, Popov grabbed the teacher's cane and snapped it in two before his classmates. Popov's father subsequently enrolled him in *Lycée Hoche*, a secondary institution in Versailles, which he attended for the following two years.

## Student activism

At the age of 18, Popov enrolled in the University of Belgrade, seeking an undergraduate in law. Over the next four years, he became a familiar face in Belgrade's cafes and nightclubs, and had the reputation of a ladies' man. "Women ... found him irresistible," *Times* columnist Ben Macintyre writes, "with his easy manner, loose, sensual mouth ... and green ... bedroom eyes." In 1934, Popov enrolled in the University of Freiburg, intent on securing a doctorate in law. Germany had only recently come under the rule of Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party, but at the time, Popov paid little regard to politics. He had chosen Freiburg because it was relatively close to his native country and he was eager to improve his German-language skills. Germany was already the site of mass book burnings, the first concentration camps had been established and the systematic persecution of Jews had commenced.

Popov began his studies at the University of Freiburg in the autumn of 1935, and in subsequent months, began showing greater interest in politics and voiced his political opinions more vigorously. Around the same time, he befriended a fellow student, Johnny Jebsen, the son of a German shipping magnate.

The two grew close, largely due to their raucous lifestyle and a shared interest in sports vehicles. In 1936–37, Popov began participating in debates at the *Ausländer Club*, which were held every other Friday evening. He was disappointed that many foreign students appeared to be swayed by the pro-Nazi arguments espoused there. Popov discovered that the German debaters were all hand-picked party members who chose the subject of each debate beforehand and vigorously rehearsed Nazi talking points. He persuaded Jebsen, then the president of the club, to inform him of the debate topics in advance and passed this information along to the British and American debaters. Popov himself delivered two speeches at the club, arguing in favour of democracy. He also wrote several articles for the Belgrade daily *Politika*, ridiculing the Nazis. "Duško despised Nazism," biographer Larry Loftis writes, "and since he wasn't German, he believed he owed no allegiance to Hitler or the state."

In the summer of 1937, Popov completed his doctoral thesis, and decided to celebrate by embarking on a trip to Paris. Before he could leave, he was arrested by the Gestapo, who accused him of being a communist. His movements had been tracked by undercover agents beforehand and his acquaintances questioned. Popov was incarcerated at the Freiburg prison without formal proceedings. When Jebsen received news of his friend's arrest, he called Popov's father and informed him of what had occurred. Popov's father contacted Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Stojadinović, who raised the issue with Hermann Göring, and after eight days in captivity, Popov was released. He was ordered to leave Germany within 24 hours, and upon collecting his belongings, boarded a train for Switzerland. He soon arrived in Basel and found Jebsen waiting for him on the station platform. Jebsen informed Popov of the role he played in securing his release. Popov expressed gratitude and told Jebsen that if he was ever in need of any assistance he needed only ask.

## World War II Initiation

Upon his return to Dubrovnik in the fall of 1937, Popov began practicing law. In February 1940, he received a message from Jebsen, asking to meet him at the Hotel Serbian King in Belgrade. Popov was shocked to find Jebsen a nervous wreck, chain smoking and drinking exorbitantly. He told Popov that he had joined his family's shipping business after graduating from Freiburg and explained that he needed a Yugoslav shipping license to evade the Allied naval blockade at Trieste. Popov agreed to help Jebsen, and the latter travelled back to Berlin to collect the required documentation. Two weeks later, Jebsen returned to Belgrade, and informed Popov that he had joined the *Abwehr*, German's military intelligence service, as a *Forscher* (researcher).

Jebsen's ability to travel across Europe on business trips would remain unimpeded so long as he submitted reports detailing the information he had received from his business contacts. He told Popov he joined the *Abwehr* to avoid being conscripted into the *Wehrmacht*. Jebsen said military service was not an option because he suffered from varicose veins. The news came as a surprise to Popov, as his friend had previously expressed anti-Nazi views.

Popov informed Clement Hope, a passport control officer at the British legation in Yugoslavia. Hope enrolled Popov as a double agent with the codename Scoot (he was later known to his handler as Tricycle), and advised him to cooperate with Jebsen. Once accepted as a double agent, Popov moved to London. His international business activities in an import-export business provided cover for visits to neutral Portugal; its capital, Lisbon, was linked to the UK by a weekly civilian air service for most of the war. Popov used his cover position to report periodically to his *Abwehr* handlers in Portugal. Popov fed enough MI6-approved information to the Germans to keep them happy and unaware of his actions, and was well-paid for his services. The assignments given to him were of great value to the British in assessing enemy plans and thinking.

His most important deception was convincing the Germans that the D-Day landings would be in Calais, not Normandy, and was able to report back to MI6 that they fell for this deception, which corroborated Bletchley Park's decryption of Lorenz cipher machine messages. Popov was famous for his playboy lifestyle, while carrying out perilous wartime missions for the British.

### **Allegations regarding Pearl Harbour**

In 1941, Popov was dispatched to the United States by the *Abwehr* to establish a new German network. He was given ample funds and an intelligence questionnaire (a list of intelligence targets, later published as an appendix to Meterman's book *The Double Cross System*). Of the three typewritten pages of the questionnaire, one entire page was devoted to highly detailed questions about US defences at Pearl Harbour on the Hawaiian island of Oahu. He made contact with the FBI and explained what he had been asked to do.

During a televised interview, Duško Popov related having informed the FBI on 12 August, 1941, of the impending attack on Pearl Harbour. Either the FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover did not report this fact to his superiors, or they, for reasons of their own, took no action. Hoover distrusted Popov because he was a double agent, even though MI6 had told the FBI in New York that he would be arriving. Popov himself has said Hoover was quite suspicious and distrustful of him and, according to author William "Mole" Wood, when Hoover discovered Popov had brought a woman from New York to Florida, threatened to have him arrested under the Mann Act if he did not leave the US immediately.

### **Operation Fortitude**

In 1944, Popov became a key part of the deception operation codenamed Fortitude. When Jebsen was arrested by the Gestapo in Lisbon, the British feared Popov had been compromised and ceased giving him critical information to pass along to the Germans. It was later discovered that the *Abwehr* still regarded Popov as an asset and he was brought back into use by the British. Jebsen's death at the hands of the Nazis had a profound emotional impact on Popov.

### **Later life**

In 1972, John Cecil Masterman published *The Double Cross System in the War of 1939 to 1945*, an intimate account of wartime British military deception. Prior to the publication of Masterman's book, Popov had no intention of revealing his wartime activities, believing that the MI6 would not allow it. Masterman's book convinced Popov that it was time to make his exploits public. In 1974, Popov published an autobiography titled *Spy/Counterspy*, "a racy account of his adventures that read like a James Bond novel." Miller describes it as "fundamentally accurate, if occasionally embellished". Several of the events described in the book were either entirely fictional, such as a fistfight Popov claimed to have had with a German agent, exaggerated for dramatic effect, or could not be substantiated through subsequently declassified intelligence records. Popov's wife and children were apparently unaware of his past until the book's publication.

By the early 1980s, years of chain smoking and heavy drinking had taken a toll on Popov's health. He died in Opio on 10 August 1981, aged 69. His family said his death came after a long illness. He was predeceased by his brother Ivo, who died in 1980. Shortly after Popov's death, MI6 began declassifying documents that pertained to Allied intelligence-gathering and disinformation activities during the war, thereby verifying many of his claims.

Popov was the subject of a one-hour television documentary produced by Starz Inc. and Cinenova, titled *True Bond*, which aired in June 2007. Two other documentaries recounting Popov's exploits, *The Real Life James Bond: Dusko Popov* and *Double Agent Dusko Popov: Inspiration for James Bond*, have also been produced. Popov has also been the subject of several biographies, notably Miller's *Codenamed Tricycle* (2004) and Loftis' *Into the Lion's Mouth* (2016).

Fleming's code number for James Bond was based on Popov's claim that every time he needed some advice he would call his uncle, Milivoj Popov, who lived at Miloša Velikog 46 in Belgrade (today Kneza Miloša 52), the phone number for

his apartment being 26-007. Today that building is near former Embassy of United States in Serbia and the number is not listed in the telephone directory any more.

***"Espionage, like rugby, is a ruffian's game, played by gentlemen."***

The quotation above, from author Larry Loftis, is an appropriate commentary on the life and times of double agent Dusko Popov, whose incredible career is the focus of *Into the Lion's Mouth* and the model for the fictional James Bond, the creation of a man with whom Popov was somewhat acquainted, Royal Navy Commander and intelligence officer Ian Fleming. Popov, described by the author as, "above all, a showman," (3) was born into a well-to-do Serbian family in 1912 and seemed destined to enjoy a lucrative and luxurious career as a lawyer. However, his penchant for speaking his mind, paired with his hatred of Nazism, resulted in a temporary stay in Frei burg prison courtesy of the Gestapo, followed by expulsion to Switzerland.

Returning to his law practice in Dubrovnik in 1937, his subsequent life was dramatically changed by a telegram from his closest friend and fellow member of the elite, Johnny Jebson, who informed Popov that he had decided to join the Abwehr, German military intelligence, which he considered the best alternative available for him at the time.

Love for his friend prompted Popov to help Johnny and thereby German intelligence- with an operational tasking, but his fondness for democracy prompted him to simultaneously inform British foreign intelligence, M 16, which encouraged Dusko to play along with German intelligence, feeding them information the British service provided. As an Abwehr agent, Popov was assigned to Lisbon, Portugal, a key neutral allied with the British since 1373. The chief of M 16 (Secret Intelligence Service), Maj. Gen. Stewart Menzies- better-known as "C"- also sought information on his opposite number, Abwehr Director Adm. Wilhelm Canaris. Furthermore, Popov's linguistic capabilities, law degree, wealth, and highly-placed contacts made him invaluable to M 15 (Security Intelligence Service) as well, enabling him to travel freely. Thus, in a smooth, brief transition, Popov simultaneously became a double agent- TRICYCLE to the British, SKOOT to the Germans- while also parading as a Yugoslav businessman genuinely preoccupied with the fate of his family members.

By the end of 1940, Popov had flown to England and met his M 15 handler, Col. T.A. "Tar" Robertson, Head of the Double Agents section. He also had a memorable, if disturbing, private meeting with Menzies, who provided a brutally frank assessment of his new agent, telling Popov, "You have too many devices on your banner."

The author never fully explains this bizarre comment, presumably a reference to the fact that Popov was too flamboyant a character to be successful at the deadly game of intrigue and espionage- as Loftis describes him, Popov was "an incorrigible playboy who dated enough women to make even Bond blush." (85- 86) Once again by helping Johnny, Popov backed his way into one of the great intelligence coups of World War 11, tragically appreciated only after the fact.

In November 1940, the British Royal Air Force and Royal Navy launched a night time, pre-emptive raid on the Italian naval base at Taranto, the world's first aerial assault against a defended port. Japanese military strategists were interested in how the attack occurred, and Popov's German minders opined that the Japanese would enter the war by attacking the United States in similar fashion. Intent upon helping their Pacific ally and themselves as well, the Germans tasked Popov with getting the answers to a host of questions on US defensive measures, including a page-long list on Pearl Harbour defences alone. They conveyed the questionnaire to Popov using the latest technique in espionage, the microdot.

Finally convincing the British Double-Cross (XX) Committee that he was not a triple agent, Popov was dispatched by his Abwehr handlers to the United States to set up an agent network there, a proposal which the British and the American FBI were willing to accept. The change of venue for Popov prompted FBI demands to control him while in the United States, to which the British only warily agreed; as Popov soon learned, the Bureau wanted him to help catch German spies, not conduct espionage while in the country. Dusko arrived in New York in August 1941 and set about answering the questions he had memorized, sharing the information with the Bureau. He thus acquainted US officials with the high-level German and Japanese interest in Pearl Harbour four months before the "Day of Infamy" attack; however, no warning of this interest was ever passed to the US military.

This failure, combined with FBI chief Hoover's irascibility and Popov's determination to go toe-to-toe with the law enforcement legend, resulted in what Loftis accurately characterizes as "a scandalously dysfunctional relationship" (93) between TRICYCLE and the Bureau. Of the eight formal investigations of the Pearl Harbour attack, not one mentions either Popov or the questionnaire. When the captain of the ship on which Popov was traveling on 7 December announced the Pearl Harbour attack, Popov felt proud- but only until he heard the tragic results, wondering how such a disaster could have occurred when he had already provided the critical defence information.

With his relationship with the FBI worsening, he was recalled to London, where he continued to feed false information to the Germans, including in two famous deception operations- misleading the Germans into believing a planned Allied landing in southern Europe was to take place in Greece and Sardinia and that the Western Front would be opened well north of Normandy. Such acts helped earn him the Order of the British Empire. After the liberation of France, he went to Paris to establish a new British intelligence network. After the war ended, he lived there and prospered and eventually acquired British citizenship.

In the estimation of Loftis, Popov's greatest accomplishments during his astonishing life as a double agent consisted of the information that he provided on Pearl Harbour and his involvement in the D-Day deception. He also characterizes Popov as "Britain's greatest World War II double agent and perhaps history's best spy." (26 1) While the first assertion will likely go unchallenged, the second could engender heated discussion over many years. It is worth noting, however, that most biographers are enamoured of their subjects, and Loftis is no exception in that regard.

*Into the Lion's Mouth* is generally well-written and is aided greatly by the *Dramatis Personae* section- which readers will be consulting often- and by the helpful appendices, particularly the one that lists all the intelligence operations in which Popov was involved. The volume reflects the wide use of primary source materials, in various foreign languages, as well as standard US sources. Although Loftis does his best as a lawyer and accomplished writer to explain the tangled web of intrigue that characterizes the life and operations of TRICYCLE, portions of the narrative are challenging to follow, such as the British laundering of German funds to support their intelligence operations. Besides providing details of German and British intelligence activities during the war, Loftis also provides important, albeit disturbing, information about J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI, their general missteps in the unfamiliar larger world of intelligence, and their particularly misguided assessment of Popov and his motives. Bureau champions will find little to cheer about in these pages.

On the other hand, *Into the Lion's Mouth*—the title taken from Montagu's description of Popov's career is the able telling of an important and generally overlooked story, as the only other book-length survey of Popov's life is that by British journalist Russell Miller, author of *Codename Tricycle* (Pimlico, 2005). Readers who pick up Loftis's work will be impressed anew with the dexterity, daring, and skill needed to be an intelligence operative, much less a double agent.

## Edward Arnold Chapman

(16 November 1914 – 11 December 1997) was an English criminal and wartime spy. During the Second World War he offered his services to Nazi Germany as a spy and subsequently became a British double agent. His British Secret Service handlers codenamed him **Zigzag** in acknowledgement of his rather erratic personal history. He had a number of criminal aliases known by the British police, amongst them Edward Edwards, Arnold Thompson and Edward Simpson. His German codename was **Fritz** or, later, after endearing himself to his German contacts, its diminutive form of **Fritzchen**.

Chapman was born on 16 November 1914 in Burnopfield, County Durham, England. His father was a former marine engineer who ended up as a publican in Roker. The family (Chapman was the eldest of three children) had a reputation for disobedience, and Chapman received little in the way of parental guidance. Despite being bright, he regularly played truant from school to go to the cinema and hang around the beach.

Aged 17, Chapman joined the Second Battalion of the Coldstream Guards, where his duties included guarding the Tower of London. Chapman enjoyed the perks of the uniform, but soon became bored with his duties. After nine months in the army, having been granted six days of leave, he ran away with a girl he met in Soho. After two months the army caught up with him, and he was arrested and sentenced to 84 days in a military prison (glasshouse) at Aldershot. On release, Chapman received a dishonourable discharge from the army.

Chapman returned to Soho and spent some time working casual jobs, from barman to film extra, but his lifestyle outstripped his earnings – gambling debts and a taste for fine alcohol soon left him broke. He slipped into petty crime, fraud and petty theft and, after several run-ins with the law, finally received his first civilian prison sentence, two months in Scrubs for forging a cheque.<sup>[3]</sup> He became a safecracker with London West End gangs, spending several stretches in jail for these crimes. The gangs utilised gelignite to gain entry to safes, leading Chapman and his associates





to be known as the "Jelly Gang". One of Chapman's "Jelly Gang" crimes was carried out with the help of James Wells Hunt, whom Chapman met during a stint in prison. The execution of the crime involved Chapman disguising himself as a member of the Metropolitan Water Board in order to gain access to a house in Edgware Road, from which he made his way into the shop next door by smashing through the wall. He then extracted the safe, which was transported to Hunt's Garage at 39 St Luke's Mews, where it had its door removed using gelignite.

Well along into his criminal career, he was arrested in Scotland and charged with blowing up the safe of the headquarters of the Edinburgh Co-operative Society. Let out on bail, he fled to Jersey in the Channel Islands, where he unsuccessfully attempted to continue his criminal career.

Chapman had been dining with his lover and future fiancée Betty Farmer at the Hotel de la Plage immediately before his arrest and, when he saw undercover police coming to arrest him for crimes on the mainland, made a spectacular exit through the dining room window (which was shut at the time). Later that same night he committed the slapdash burglary for which he had to immediately begin serving two years in a Jersey prison, which, ironically, spared him at least 14 more years' imprisonment in a mainland prison afterwards.

## **Second World War**

Chapman was still in prison when the Channel Islands were invaded by the Germans. While incarcerated he met Anthony Faramus. Following a letter in German which they concocted to get off the Island, they were transferred to Fort de Romainville in Paris. There, Chapman confirmed his willingness to act as a German spy. Under the direction of Captain Stephan von Gröning, head of the Abwehr in Nantes, he was trained in explosives, radio communications, parachute jumping and other subjects in France at La Bretonnière-la-Claye, Saint-Julien-des-Landes, near Nantes, and dispatched to Britain to commit acts of sabotage.

On 16 December 1942, Chapman was flown to Britain in a Focke-Wulf bomber, converted for parachuting, from Le Bourget airfield. He was equipped with wireless, pistol, cyanide capsule and £1,000 and, amongst other things, was given the task of sabotaging the de Havilland aircraft factory at Hatfield. After an uncomfortable flight, during which he suffered a nosebleed due to a poorly tightened oxygen mask, Chapman became stuck in the hatch as he tried to leave the aircraft. Finally detaching himself, he landed some distance from the target location of Mundford, Norfolk, near the village of Littleport, Cambridgeshire.

The British secret services had been aware of Chapman's existence for some time, via Ultra (decrypted German messages), and would know his date of departure.

Section B1A, the MI5-backed department which had the task of capturing enemy agents and turning them into double agents, had discussed the best method of capturing Chapman without revealing Ultra. In the end, Operation Nightcap was envisioned. Rather than conduct a full-scale manhunt, planes from RAF Fighter Command would trail Chapman's aircraft to identify his landing site (from one of three possible options). Local police would then be alerted, with instructions to conduct a search under the guise of looking for a deserter. However, these plans were ultimately unnecessary; Chapman surrendered to the local police shortly after landing and offered his services to MI5. He was interrogated at Latchmere House in southwest London, better known as Camp 020. MI5 decided to use him as a double agent against the Germans and assigned Ronnie Reed as his case officer. (Reed had been invited to join MI5 in 1940 and remained until his retirement in 1976.

## **Faked sabotage of de Havilland factory**

During the night of 29–30 January 1943, Chapman with MI5 officers faked a sabotage attack on his target, the de Havilland aircraft factory in Hatfield, where the Mosquito was being manufactured. German reconnaissance aircraft photographed the site, and the faked damage convinced Chapman's German controllers that the attack had been successful.

Following the de Havilland subterfuge, B1A began preparations for Chapman's return to his German handlers. Radio messages were sent to the Abwehr requesting extraction by boat or submarine, and Chapman was set to work learning a cover story ready for the inevitable interrogations. However, the response from the Abwehr was lukewarm. They refused to send a U-Boat and told Chapman to return via Lisbon, Portugal. This was not a simple method, as he had no valid reason to travel to the neutral port. Reed, and other members of B1A, believed this demonstrated the Germans' reluctance to pay Chapman the £15,000 he had been promised. In the meantime Chapman was subjected to fake interrogation at Camp 020, to make sure his story held up. Reed told him to stick as close to the truth as possible, to help make the lies more realistic, and he was coached in speaking slowly to cover any hesitations. Stephens was impressed with how well Chapman responded to questioning.

## **Portugal and Operation Damp Squib**

Unlike the Germans, MI5 was eager for Chapman to return, in the hope that, as a trusted asset, he could pick up significant information about the enemy. He was given the task of memorising a list of questions to which the Allies wanted answers. The list was carefully constructed so that, should Chapman be broken, its content would not show German intelligence the gaps in Allied knowledge.

To get Chapman to Lisbon, it was decided he would join the crew of a merchant ship, and jump ship when it docked in Portugal. A fake identity, Hugh Anson, was constructed and the relevant paperwork obtained before Chapman joined the crew of *The City of Lancaster*, sailing out of Liverpool. On making contact with Germans at their Lisbon embassy, he suggested an attempt at blowing up the ship with a bomb disguised as a lump of coal to be placed in the coal bunker. This was in response to a request from Britain's anti-sabotage section that he obtain examples of German explosive devices. He was given two bombs, which, however, he handed to the ship's captain. The Germans did not notice the ship was not damaged on the voyage home, but to avoid the Germans' doubting Chapman's commitment, the British staged a conspicuous investigation of the ship when it returned to Britain, ensuring gossip would make its way back to the Germans.

Chapman was sent to occupied Norway to teach at a German spy school in Oslo. After a debriefing by von Gröning, Chapman was awarded the Iron Cross for his work in apparently damaging the de Havilland works and the *City of Lancaster*, making him the first Englishman to receive such an award since the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71. However, Nicholas Booth suggests that as the Iron Cross was only ever given to military personnel, Chapman's "Iron Cross" may instead have been a War Merit Cross 2nd Class, or *Kriegsverdienstkreuz*. Chapman was inducted into the German Army as an oberleutnant or first lieutenant. Chapman was also rewarded with 110,000 Reichsmarks and his own yacht. An MI5 officer wrote in an assessment "the Germans came to love Chapman ... but although he went cynically through all the forms, he did not reciprocate. Chapman loved himself, loved adventure, and loved his country, probably in that order" While in Oslo he also secretly photographed the German agents who stayed at his safe house.

### Return to London

After Operation Overlord he was sent back to Britain to report on the accuracy of the V-1 weapon and the Hedgehog antisubmarine weapon. He parachuted into Cambridgeshire on 29 June 1944 and went to London. Here he consistently reported to the Germans that the bombs were hitting their central London target, when in fact they were undershooting. Perhaps as a result of this disinformation, the Germans never corrected their aim, with the end result that most bombs landed in the south London suburbs or the Kent countryside, doing far less damage than they otherwise might have done.

During this period he was also involved in doping of dogs in greyhound racing and was associating with criminal elements in the London's West End night clubs. He was also indiscreet about the sources of his income and so MI5, being unable to control him, dismissed him on 2 November 1944. Chapman was given a £6,000 payment from MI5 and was allowed to keep £1,000 of the money the Germans had given him. He was granted a pardon for his pre-war activities and was reported by MI5 to have been living "in fashionable places in London always in the company of beautiful women of apparent culture".

Chapman had two fiancées at the same time, each in opposite war zones. He was still betrothed to Freda Stevenson in Britain when he met Dagmar Lahlum in Norway. Stevenson was being financially assisted through MI5, and Lahlum was being treated by von Gröning. During Chapman's stay in Norway, he revealed to Dagmar that he was a British agent, but fortunately Dagmar was linked to the Norwegian resistance. She was thrilled to know that her lover was not a German officer, and they worked together to gather German information.



He abandoned both women after the war and instead married his former lover Betty Farmer, whom he had left in a hurry at the Hotel de la Plage in 1938. He and Farmer later had a daughter Suzanne in 1954.

Dagmar served a six-month prison sentence for consorting with an apparently German officer: thinking that Chapman was dead, she was unable to prove that he was a British agent. They met again briefly in 1994. Chapman died before he was able to redeem her name.

**Dagmar Lahlum (1922–1999) member of the Norwegian resistance**

### After the war

On his retirement, MI5 expressed some apprehension that Chapman might take up crime again when his money ran out and if caught would plead for leniency because of his highly secret wartime service. As predicted, he mixed with blackmailers and thieves and got into trouble with the police for various crimes, including smuggling gold across the Mediterranean in 1950. More than once he had a character reference from former intelligence officers who confirmed his great contribution to the war effort.

Chapman had his wartime memoirs serialised in France to earn money, but he was charged under the Official Secrets Act and fined £50. A few years later, when they were due to be published in the *News of the World*, the whole issue was pulped. However, his book *The Eddie Chapman Story* was eventually published in 1953.

Chapman ghost-wrote the autobiography of Eric Pleasants, a British citizen who joined the Germans and served in the British Free Corps of the Waffen-SS during the war. Chapman claimed to have met Pleasants while he was imprisoned in Jersey. *I Killed to Live – The Story of Eric Pleasants as told to Eddie Chapman* was published in 1957. In 1967, Chapman was living in Italy and went into business as an antiquarian.

Chapman and his wife later set up a health farm (Shenley Lodge, Shenley, Herts) and owned a castle in Ireland. After the war Chapman remained friends with Baron Stephan von Gröning, his Abwehr handler (wartime alias Doctor Graumann), who had fallen on hard times. Von Gröning later attended the wedding of Chapman's daughter. Eddie Chapman died of heart failure on 11 December 1997. He was survived by his wife Betty, and a daughter.

In the 1950s producer Ted Banborough announced plans to make a film about Chapman starring Michael Rennie or Stanley Baker, but this did not go ahead. He appeared as himself on the panel game show *To Tell the Truth* in November 1965.

The 1966 film *Triple Cross* was based on the biography *The Real Eddie Chapman Story* co-written by Chapman and Frank Owen. The film was directed by Terence Young, who had known Chapman before the war. Chapman's character was played by Christopher Plummer.

The film was only loosely based on reality, and Chapman was disappointed with it. In his autobiography, Plummer said that Chapman was to have been a technical adviser on the film, but the French authorities would not allow him in the country because he was still wanted over an alleged plot to kidnap the Sultan of Morocco. The film gave him a celebrity status for a while, and this allowed him to be an occasional crime writer for *The Sunday Telegraph*.



Chapman and his Rolls-Royce.

### **Arthur Graham Owens.**

Later known as **Arthur Graham White** (14 April 1899 – 24 December 1957), was a Welsh double agent for the Allies during the Second World War.

He was working for MI5 while appearing to the Abwehr (the German intelligence agency) to be one of their agents. Owens was known to MI5 by the codename SNOW, which was chosen as it is a partial anagram of his last name.

### **Recruitment by the British and the Germans**

Owens ran a company that made batteries for ships. As such, he was a civilian contractor for the Royal Navy and also had regular contact with the Kriegsmarine in Kiel. His first experience of espionage occurred in 1936 when he had been briefly employed by the Secret Intelligence Service to provide information on what he had seen in the German shipyards.

In 1938, Nikolaus Ritter, an Abwehr agent in Britain under the name "Dr. Rantzau", made contact with him. As a Welsh nationalist, Owens had little loyalty to the United Kingdom. His work also provided a cover for any foreign trips he might have to make. He visited Germany that year and was recruited by the Abwehr. While Owens appreciated the payments for his espionage, his real interest was sexual, as the Abwehr provided attractive women for him. His Abwehr reference was A3504 and was given the codename JOHNNY, later to become *Colonel Johnny*.

### **Double dealing**

On his return to Britain, Owens had second thoughts and, in September 1938, told the British authorities of his contact and that he was to receive a radio transceiver. Although he went to Germany to collect the radio, two weeks later he

pretended it had arrived at the left luggage office of Victoria Station in London early in 1939; Owens turned the radio over and experts discovered it was more advanced than the British equivalent, before returning it to Owens.

On 11 August 1939, Owens visited his Abwehr controller in Hamburg with his girlfriend; during this visit, his wife, from whom he was separated, had written to his German contact denouncing him as a British spy. She also went to the British police to tell them he was a German agent. Despite this information, no action was taken by either side. The British police failed to pick him up on his return on 23 August and he used his radio to send several messages from London to Germany over the next week.

War between Britain and Germany broke out and, on 4 September, Owens made contact with the Special Branch to volunteer his services. However, he was instead interned in Wandsworth Prison under Defence Regulation 18B, as someone with hostile associations.

MI5 decided that Owens, to whom they gave the codename SNOW, could act as a double agent. On 12 September, MI5 returned the transmitter to Owens in Wandsworth, where it was listened to by a warder as Owens tried to make contact with the Germans. MI5 agreed to his release on condition he sent agreed messages to his German contacts. Released from prison and installed in a new property with his radio and girlfriend, Owens was helped in mid-September to go to the [Low Countries](#), where he met with German agents in [Rotterdam](#) and informed them of the [Chain Home](#) stations in England designed to detect incoming aircraft. He was asked, as a chemist, by the Germans if he could poison water reservoirs in England. Returning to England he began transmitting misleading British messages.

## Activities

In the early months of the war, the Germans asked for regular weather reports from him for the use of the Luftwaffe and also to test his credibility; these were sent by radio. At another meeting in Belgium with the Abwehr, this time in Brussels, Owens was given £470 in cash (the value of a house) for the Chain Home information, and some detonators for use in sabotage. He had taken along another double agent, also a Welsh nationalist, who was instructed to start a postage stamp business so that the Germans could communicate through microdots on stamps.

A further meeting in December 1939 took place between Owens and Ritter of the Abwehr in Brussels where he was given more money and promised a salary of £250 per month. He would be sent explosives and a better radio. Owens told MI5 that the Germans had told him that the Phoney War would end in mid-May, which proved accurate. The Germans believed Owens was their top agent in Britain.

MI5 was suspicious of Owens. When he chartered a fishing trawler from Grimsby, GY71, to meet with Ritter on the Dogger Bank in the North Sea, Owens took a second double agent, Sam McCarthy (codenamed BISCUIT) (who had been put in place by MI5 to test Owens), so that McCarthy could be trained in Germany. The meeting failed, and Owens was found to be in possession of a list of all key MI5 personnel (a 1939 menu card for a formal dinner of Intelligence personnel) arrested and threatened with the hangman as a traitor. The menu card was traced back to a disillusioned MI5 officer, who then committed suicide. A second attempt at a Dogger Bank meeting, this time controlled by MI5, also failed. Ritter in a Dornier Do 18 flying boat failed to find the trawler.

MI5 believed that Owens was primarily interested in making money from both sides and that probably neither side trusted him entirely.

Owens was permitted to continue radio transmissions to Germany, but MI5 tried to make sure that Owens only passed on to the Germans the information that they had given him. Transmissions were now being made by Maurice Burton, an ex-prison warder who had been looking after Owens in Wandsworth and had adopted Owens' style of transmitting. Ritter still believed in Owens but was feeding him with misinformation about the planned invasion of Britain, at the same time as Owens was sending misinformation to Germany about the bombing of Britain.

## Involvement with other spies

In August 1940, McCarthy (who was working for MI5) went to Portugal and met Ritter, handing over certain "modified" documents, such as ration cards and receiving in return a new radio and £950. The meeting, set up by Owens, boosted Owens' position in German eyes. One of the most important pieces of fake information then sent by radio to Germany was the supplying of false names and ration book numbers; these were used on fake documents for Abwehr agents who were sent into Britain.

Owens helped deliver German spies to MI5, who were then given the choice of becoming double agents or facing a hangman or the firing squad. Most chose to work for Britain, becoming double agents themselves and delivering vital information to the Allies, including details about troop movements and the keys to cracking German codes.

The German agents were part of their *Operation LENA*, the infiltration of agents into Britain to discover British coastal defences prior to *Operation Sea Lion*, the invasion of Britain. One parachuted German agent, a Swedish national Gösta

Caroli, was captured, agreed to be a double agent and sent a message saying he was hurt on landing. The Germans asked Owens to meet the agent and help him. As a result Owens' status increased further in German eyes. During the bombing of London, Owens was moved by MI5 to Addlestone in Surrey where he lived in style on his £250 per month German salary with his girlfriend Lily Bade and their newly born baby.

In February 1941, Owens was permitted to fly to Portugal to meet Ritter, accompanied by Walter Dicketts an ex RNAS officer who had worked in Air Intelligence during the previous war and had since served several prison sentences for fraud. Unable to trust Owens, MI5 had instructed Dicketts to verify Owens' bona fides and get himself infiltrated into Owens' network, where he could be run as a separate, and if necessary, alternate source of information. Dicketts was instructed by Tar Robertson, head of the double agent section in MI5, to take his WW1 Staff Appointment with the Air Ministry to prove his value to the Germans, and to try and get himself taken into Germany for training. Ritter invited Dicketts to come to Hamburg for interrogation by experts from the Abwehr, which Dicketts accepted and was escorted through Spain and France into Germany.

Ritter refused to allow Owens to accompany Dicketts and he was forced to remain behind in Lisbon. Using material provided to him by MI5, Dicketts managed to convince the Germans he was a traitor willing to sell out his country for cash and to help end the war and was accepted as a German agent. Ritter instructed Dicketts to purchase a boat when he returned to England, so he could ferry German spies and sabotage equipment from the Nazi occupied Channel Islands into England.

Three weeks later, Dicketts was reunited with Owens in Lisbon and both flew back to England in late March, when Owens was found to be carrying £10,000 and explosive pens. Owens claimed to have informed Dicketts before he even went into Germany, that Owens had told Ritter that both he and Dicketts were working for MI5, a fact which Dicketts strenuously denied. Owens viewed the fact that Dicketts had nonetheless gone willingly into Germany as proof that he had been 'turned' by the Germans. MI5 spent countless hours interrogating each agent, and in the end Dicketts' account was believed by some in MI5, and not by others. Owens was imprisoned until the end of the war for having endangered Dicketts' life and for having revealed secret information that his pre-war German radio transmitter was being operated by MI5.

The collapse of the Snow network ended the careers of double agents, Snow, Charlie, GW, Biscuit, Summer, and Celery although GW was able to re-establish himself through another network. Dicketts continued to work as an agent for MI5 until 1943, undertaking a further mission to Lisbon to help an Abwehr officer defect, and spent six months in South America until March 1942.

A German agent, Willem Ter Braak, had landed in November 1940 and successfully obtained accommodation and rented an office. He was not picked up by the Police despite having ration cards with false numbers; however, suspecting he was being watched, he committed suicide on 1 April 1941.

This led to a suspicion of a parallel German network to the Owens agents. Owens was arrested and found himself in prison, where he was joined by Rudolf Hess, Hitler's Deputy Fuhrer, recently landed in Scotland and seeking a peace deal, possibly encouraged to do so by the false messages Owens had been sending. Dicketts was sent back to Portugal, where the Germans concluded he had not been turned as a double agent. With neither the Germans nor the British believing Owens was on their side, his career was over. The Germans had paid him at least £13,850, worth over £1m in today's terms.

## Later life

MI5 used Owens' radio to inform the Germans that he was seriously ill, while interning Owens in Dartmoor Prison until the end of the war. In Dartmoor, Owens stayed in the hospital wing, which was termed Camp 001 for internees. While in prison, Owens continued to work for the British by befriending German inmates and feeding what he learned to MI5.

Owens' son from his marriage, now 21 and possibly acting on his father's instructions, tried to get his father out of prison; when he bragged about sketching airfields in 1939 and sending the information to Hamburg he was arrested and imprisoned. Owens' girlfriend Lily Bade married a local man and settled down with Owens' child.

On his release in May 1945, Owens signed the Official Secrets Act and was given £500 by MI5. Owens, now with the surname *White*, moved in 1948 to Ireland with a new partner and a new baby and settled in Harristown, County Dublin, where he died in 1957. His daughter, Patricia Owens, was an actress best known for her starring role in the 1958 science-fiction horror film *The Fly*

## Walter Arthur Dicketts



(31 March 1900 – 16 August 1957) was a British double agent who was sent by MI5 into Nazi Germany in early 1941 to infiltrate the Abwehr and bring back information about any impending invasion of Britain. As part of the Double-Cross System. Dicketts role was to convince the Germans he was a traitor who was willing to sell out his country in return for cash, whilst continuing to report to MI5.

Dicketts was an ex RNAS officer who had worked in Air Intelligence for the Air Ministry during the latter part of World War I and had subsequently served several prison sentences for fraud. Unable to regain a commission in the RAF or work for British Intelligence due to his criminal past, Dicketts volunteered to work for the British Double Cross team led by Lt.Col T.A. Robertson (Thomas Argyle Robertson, known as Tar by his initials).

Given the codename Celery, Dicketts accompanied Britain's first double agent Arthur Owens (Snow) to neutral Lisbon where he was introduced to Major Nikolaus Ritter of the Abwehr. Ritter arranged for Dicketts to be brought to Hamburg to be interrogated by members of the Abwehr. Dicketts was drugged, plied with alcohol, tricked and strenuously interrogated for five days and was accepted as a German agent whose role was to ferry German spies and equipment into England by boat from the occupied Channel Islands. Dicketts remained in Hamburg and later in Berlin for four weeks, where every second he spent in enemy territory, his life was at risk.

When Dicketts returned to England with Owens their stories did not match and MI5 spent many hours interrogating their two agents, trying to establish who was telling the truth. In the end Dicketts' account was believed over Owens', who was imprisoned until 1944 for betraying Dicketts to the Germans before he even went into Germany, and for informing Ritter that the radio transmitter he had given him before the war, was now under MI5 control. MI5 were never certain of Owens' loyalty, or if he betrayed Dicketts due to jealousy or whether he was a genuine traitor. If the latter was the case, then Owens may have continued to betray other British agents or disclosed secret details about deceptions of vital importance to Britain.

Shortly after Owens' imprisonment, MI5 sent Dicketts back to Lisbon to help an Abwehr officer to defect, and several months later he was sent to South America shortly before the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbour. Dicketts' mistress Kay was given false papers in the name of Mrs Dicketts despite her 'husband' being legally married at the time.

In his business life, Walter Dicketts used up to twenty-three different aliases and served several prison sentences for fraud (forging cheques and obtaining money by false pretences) in the UK, as well as one in Austria and one in France. Dicketts married four times and maintained two mistresses during two of those marriages. Police and media described Dicketts variously as elusive, well-educated, well spoken, with charming manners and a charming smile.

## Early life

Walter Dicketts was born in Southend-on-Sea, the son of Arthur, a stockbroker's clerk, and his wife Francis. Dicketts attended the local grammar school and in 1915 he ran away from school and enlisted with the RNAS at the age of fifteen. He served in armoured cars, and tanks before becoming a pilot in 1917. After a crash in which he was badly injured he became an intelligence officer with the Air Ministry with the rank of Captain.

In 1919 he married Phyllis Hobson, the daughter of a wealthy silver cutlery manufacturer, with whom he had a son called Graeme in 1919. During the early part of their marriage Dicketts met Dora Viva Guerrier, a dancer with the famous Tiller Girls, and began a relationship, resulting in the birth of Dicketts' only daughter, Effie.



The following year he had a second son by Phyllis and several months later a son to Dora, who was given away at birth. Unable to meet his expenses Dicketts turned to crime, purchasing goods with false cheques and then selling the items. He was sentenced to hard labour and as a result lost both his wife and his mistress.

**Effie Dicketts was raised as her mother's sister.**

At the age of thirty, Dicketts eloped with a sixteen-year-old girl called Alma Wood and married her, prompting a nationwide search to catch him before the marriage could take place.

He married two more times to Vera Fudge and Judit Kelman and maintained a second mistress called Kathleen Holdcroft during his marriage to Vera. Kay 'Dicketts' played an integral role as part of his cover during his mission to South America in 1941. Dicketts was the father of six children.

## Later life

After leaving MI5 in 1943 Dicketts imported oranges into England from South America and became involved in a variety of different businesses, including property development. When his businesses began to fail, Dicketts and his

wife Judit fled to East Grinstead, where he established himself as a wealthy philanthropist called Charles Stewart Pollock. He became very successful, owned a manor house, and drove around in a white Rolls Royce. The money he obtained from investors was used to repay other investors and in classic Ponzi style, his businesses began to collapse and Dicketts was unable to repay his debts and soon gave himself up to police. Dicketts was sentenced to four years prison of which he served two years for good behaviour and then left England to run a rubber plantation in Malaya.

In October 1957, John Bull Magazine published an article called 'Hitler's Wartime Spies in Britain' which named Arthur Owens but not Walter Dicketts. Dicketts was described by his German codename Brown, and was pictured being drugged by the Abwehr who removed his opening signet ring to see if any hidden secret code was written behind the photograph of his girlfriend Kay.

Dicketts died in August 1957 of coal-gas poisoning, having apparently killed himself, and Owens died in December of the same year of cardiac asthma, a condition secondary to heart failure that is marked by breathing difficulty.

In 1972 John Cecil Masterman published *The Double Cross System in the War of 1939 to 1945*, an intimate account of wartime British military deception, in which Celery is mentioned, but not identified as Walter Dicketts. His family did not discover his role with British intelligence in both World Wars until his security services file was released by the British National Archives in 2006. It was at this time that his family discovered the existence of his other wives, mistresses and children. In 2017, his granddaughter Carolinda Witt, published a biography of Dicketts called *Double Agent Celery – MI5's Crooked Hero*.

### Roman Garby-Czerniawski

(6 February 1910 – 26 April 1985) was a Polish Air Force Captain and Allied double agent during World War II, using the codename **Brutus**.

Czerniawski graduated in the late 1930s from the Wyższa Szkoła Wojenna (WSWoj), a military academy at Warsaw. As a former officer of the Polish Air Force, he volunteered to create an allied espionage network in France in 1940. He set it up with Mathilde Carré who recruited the agents; some French declined to work for a Pole. This network was code-named *Interallie*.



Czerniawski was evacuated to Britain to be examined by Polish intelligence and then meet General Sikorski where he was presented with the Virtuti Militari. He was returned to France by parachute in November 1941.

On 17 November 1941 the Abwehr group of Hugo Bleicher arrested Czerniawski and then Carré. The network had been uncovered due to the lack of proper operational security within the organisation, and many other members of the Interallie were picked up after Carré agreed to co-operate with the Germans in return for her life. Czerniawski and others were imprisoned.

After having been offered safety by the Germans, he was sent to England as an agent. However, he made himself known to the British authorities. He was debriefed by the British (MI6) and Polish authorities about the security lapses of his organisation in France.

He was then employed as a double agent by MI5 using the codename "Brutus" (after Caesar's friend and assassin) under their Double Cross System.

His strong anti-Russian attitude, manifested in his denouncing (in a pamphlet he authored) a Polish officer who attended an official reception at the Soviet Embassy, led to doubts about his suitability. For this act of mutiny against the Polish authorities, he was arrested and imprisoned. MI5 produced a cover story that he had been detained in a sweep of "anti-Bolshevik" Poles.

A Polish court martial found him guilty of gross insubordination, but to keep the matter quiet sentenced him to only two months imprisonment. After his release from prison, Czerniawski was unrepentant to his handlers; MI5 doubted his reliability, thinking him fickle and liable to meddle, and MI5 also harbored concerns that the Germans would be suspicious about his arrest and swift release. He was no longer permitted to operate the radio himself and he was only used for distribution of low grade information ("chicken feed"). Initial German suspicion faded and in December 1943 the British decided to use Brutus for distribution of important deception information.

As such, he played a major part in the allied deception prior to the D-Day landings in Normandy in 1944 as one of the primary agents passing false information as part of Fortitude South, the deception plan aimed at convincing Germany that the Allies would invade Europe in the Pas de Calais area across the English Channel from South-East England. After the war he stayed in the UK and wrote *The Big Network*, published in 1961.

Czerniawski died in London, on 26 April 1985, at the age of 75. He was buried in Newark-on-Trent in Newark Cemetery for RAF burials.

## Renato Levi

About Levi, his "Most Secret" files called him an "international adventurer" over his relevant status as a "British National." Notably charming, inventive, and a "natural liar," Levi's birthplace as recorded in his dossier is "Italy." However the same dossier has other documents stating he was born in Split, (presumably the city across the Adriatic now in Croatia.) The exact date for the latter birthplace has been redacted, but the year of 1902 is the same. As of the clandestine file's creation, he was 5'6" with light brown hair and blue eyes. Importantly, he was often referred to as a "Jew" or "Jewish," and that his motives for joining the Allied cause were "patriotic" and that he wanted to fight for the Jews. However, according to the same people, Levi's "motives are difficult to fathom." Also, he "enjoys the work for its own sake," and perhaps he simply enjoyed the traveling, womanizing, and overall adventuring his double-agent life afforded him.

Prior to joining the Allies in 1939, Levi was reported to have lived in India, Switzerland, Italy, and Australia, in addition to holding British citizenship. His mother owned a hotel in Genoa, and he frequently used that as a home-base when he was in Italy. It was while staying in the hotel in December of 1939 that he was approached by a German I.S. Agent, "Oscar Zoller," in one account, or Dr. Johannes "Hans" Travaglio (aka, Major Solms) in another. Dr. Travaglio seems to be his primary contact in the German I.S., and he reportedly inquired as to his willingness to help the Germans. Levi said he was, and was sent to France. When he arrived in France in early 1940, he headed for the British Consulate, where he reported out of "patriotic" duty. While in France, he was handled by the Deuxième Bureau (the French Intelligence) until France's collapse in the mid-1940. He was then returned to Genoa.



Renato Levi (aka CHEESE, MR. ROSE, LAMBERT, EMILE, or ROBERTO) was a Jewish-Italian adventurer and double-agent for the British in WWII. He was instrumental in setting up a wireless transmitter in Cairo that fed false information to the Axis powers throughout the war. Even though Levi was caught and imprisoned soon after he accomplished his mission, Levi's "CHEESE" network helped to outflank Rommel at the battle of El Alamein in Egypt, as well as placing other, strategic mis-information that aided the Allies, including at Normandy.

Renato Levi nearly always flew under the radar, especially in the British National Archives. Even in recent books about spies and counter-intelligence, Levi receives curt mention and specifics about his participation are often confused. To be fair, Levi's files have only recently been released, and even then Levi - "Cheese," "Lambert," or "Mr. Rose" - seems to be identified openly only once in his classified dossier. Indeed, in his national documents, evidence of redaction is everywhere: even Levi's primary codename "CHEESE" has been carefully handwritten in tiny, blocky letters over white-out, re-establishing a place in history.

In large part, Levi's narrative doesn't fall into that of a "hero spy," and efforts to make him into one mean eliding much of the truth. To be absolutely certain, Levi was of paramount importance in establishing a spy network in Cairo that "turned the tide" of WWII in North Africa. But for much of WWII (specifically, August 2, 1941- October 17, 1943), Levi was either undergoing interrogation by the Italian authorities or in an Italian island prison.

Also complicating his narrative are the archival files themselves, where he is alternatively referred to as "Cheese," "Mr. Rose," "Lambert," or even his German nom du guerre, "Roberto." As a result, teasing out Levi's story is a much more difficult task than might appear.

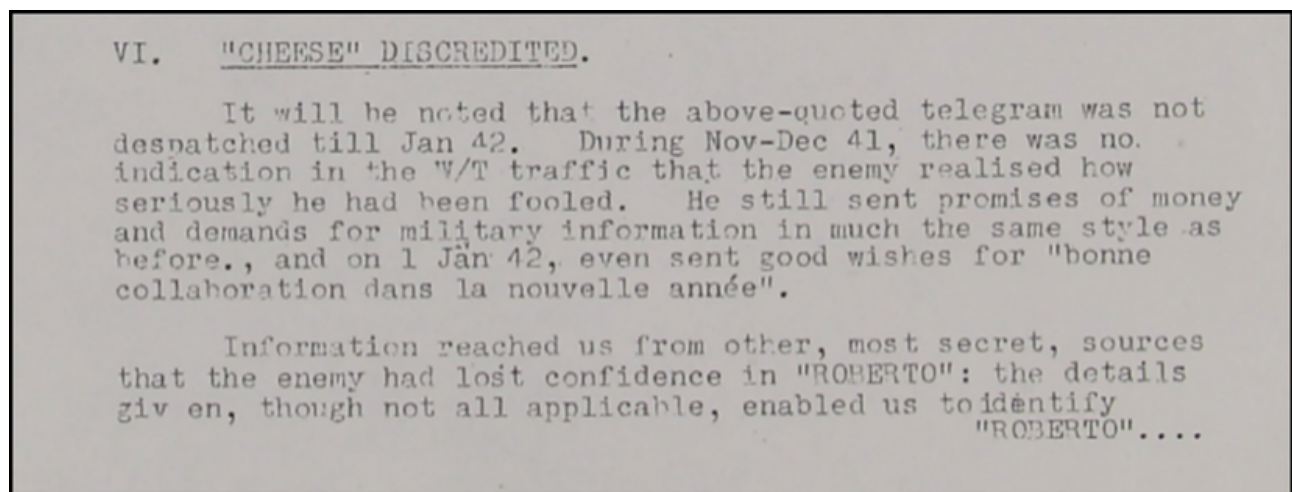
Because Levi was arrested and convicted in late 1941/early 1942, the Cheese network out of Cairo took a significant hit to its credibility. One of the most interesting features of this story is that the imaginary agent, "Paul Nicossof," was able to regain and retain the trust of the Germans. Thanks to the ingenious manipulations of the British Intelligence operatives controlling the wireless, the Cheese network was back in the pink by June of 1942, just in time for "A" Force to start planting counter-intelligence prior to the commencement of Operation Bertram at El Alamein in Egypt (October, 1942). Indeed, some of the most fascinating pieces out of this sordid tale are the ways that the intelligence operatives used payment schedules (or, rather, the German's lack of payment to "Paul Nicossof") to establish credibility about the fictitious informant's information; Nicossof was portrayed as petulant and inconsistent because efforts to pay him were always unsuccessful. Indeed, his handlers credited the "unforeseen event" of the German's inability to pay "Nicossof" as the way they were able to extend his character beyond the "impasse" that would

normally constitute a non-military informant. "Nicossof" could then see – rather, portray – himself as the "man who brought Rommel to Egypt," which would get him paid for his troubles at last, in addition to all the attending glory and medals.

Perhaps because of the British Intelligence's efforts to make "Nicossof" convincing and that Levi was completely constant under duress in prison, the Germans never really lost faith in the Cheese operative network. More likely, they were starved for information, and Cheese held the only promise for any intelligence about the Middle East. Tellingly, the Germans blamed the Italians for the confinement of their only key agent in the Middle East, Renato Levi. For his part, Levi felt that the Italians were jealous of the German's "success" in establishing an informant network after "Count Sciriombo's" own attempts to do so had failed. For whatever the reason, the Germans trusted Levi, but he never broke or compromised his duty to the Allied forces.

Others have looked at these newly declassified documents in the attempt to press Levi into the service of a "Hero Spy" figure. In truth, Levi was a far more complicated figure and these whitewash narratives don't succeed in allowing his experiences all their complexity. And most interestingly, his story reveals much about the inner workings of the German Abwehr and the nature of the Italian Intelligence operations. His British handlers conjectured that it was unlikely the German and Italian Intelligence bureaus had a great deal of communication between them, and the Germans, in spite of their full faith in Levi, were overly satisfied with his original purpose of establishing a wireless transmitter network, to their detriment.[18]

To read his declassified documents, Levi's ultimate fate is unclear. It is true that the Cheese network was in full swing throughout the war, and many have credited "Cheese" with hoodwinking the Germans in grand fashion on many occasions. Perhaps Levi was again affiliated with Cheese after his release, perhaps not. Regardless, Renato Levi – lover of travel, intrigue, and a really good lie – did a remarkable service to the Allied forces by instituting one of the best and most productive counter-intelligence operations of WWII, and he kept it all safe.



*From Levi's Top Secret file, discussing an onset of distrust by his German handlers, and also establishing the German's codename "Roberto" as the equivalent of "Cheese."*

**BNA-KV-2-1133**

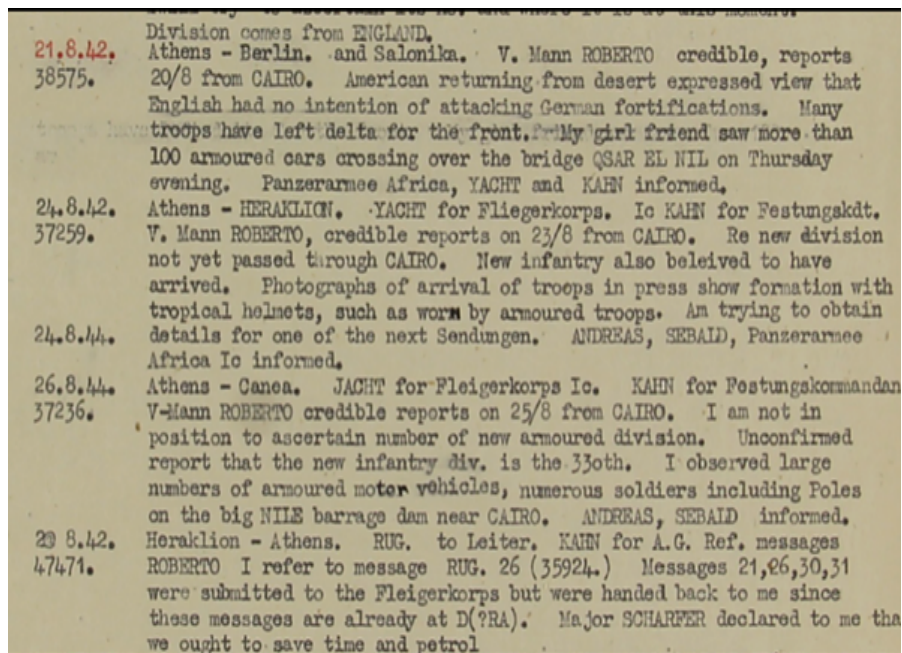
Here, he met again with Travaglio, who introduced him to other agents: a Major Helferich and another key player who went by "Rosetti." After some discussion and planning, it was determined that Levi was to go to Egypt and set up a wireless transmitter that would message German Headquarters in Athens with encrypted messages. Levi's job was to set up the transmitter at a secure location and recruit informants who would give him reliable "boots on the ground" information. The plan was reportedly approved by the head of Italian Intelligence, a Count Sciriombo."

In late December 1940, just about a year after his recruitment by the Germans, Levi was off to Egypt. But while traveling through Istanbul, he was picked up by Turkish authorities for working with a gang of counterfeiters. He was apparently released 30 days later after the British stepped in, and he continued on to Cairo, arriving mid-February of that year. He was given a wireless set by the British and they established a fake informant, "Paul Nicossof." "Nicossof"



was an invention of British intelligence, which began to use the wireless transmitter to communicate in encryption with Levi's Axis connections. This was the start of the "Cheese Network." While Levi was also known as "Cheese," the transmissions by the fake informant are also referred to as "Cheese." This development perhaps led to Levi's new codenames in British Intelligence communications, "Lambert" and "Mr. Rose." To the Axis forces, he and his network were known as "Roberto."

Following the establishment of the Cheese network, Levi chose to return to Italy to meet with his German contacts. It is unclear why he felt this was necessary. He travelled through Turkey in April of 1941 on his way to Rome. He made his way back to his mother's hotel in Genoa, and then on August 2, 1941 he was arrested by Italian authorities and accused of espionage; specifically, he was accused of working with the British Intelligence and that the "Roberto" Wireless Transmitter was under the control of the British ("trasmette sotto il controllo inglese"). The irony is that the Italians were completely correct of their suspicions, but Levi denied this under repeat interrogations and he appealed to his German handlers for help. Rosetti and Travaglio were either unable or unwilling to help him (it was speculated by British Intelligence that Levi knew more than he should about his German handlers' black market activities, and that may have been why they were loath to have him released). He was also asked if he was Jewish. He said that he was Jewish in "origin," but that his religion was Catholic, and it seems like his answer was either satisfactory or the subject was not really an issue. In October, Levi was told he would be freed; instead, a few days later he was summoned to a secret court that convicted him of political crimes against the Italian state. He was sentenced to five years in prison, and shipped off to the island of Tremiti. Levi served around two years of his sentence before he was liberated by British forces in August of 1943 after being transferred to San Severo on the mainland.



21.8.42. Division comes from ENGLAND. Athens - Berlin. and Salonika. V. Mann ROBERTO credible, reports 38575. 20/8 from CAIRO. American returning from desert expressed view that English had no intention of attacking German fortifications. Many troops have left delta for the front. My girl friend saw more than 100 armoured cars crossing over the bridge QSAR EL NIL on Thursday evening. Panzerarmee Africa, YACHT and KAHN informed.

24.8.42. Athens - HERAKLION. YACHT for Fliegerkorps. Ic KAHN for Festungskdt. 37259. V. Mann ROBERTO, credible reports on 23/8 from CAIRO. Re new division not yet passed through CAIRO. New infantry also believed to have arrived. Photographs of arrival of troops in press show formation with tropical helmets, such as worn by armoured troops. Am trying to obtain details for one of the next Sendungen. ANDREAS, SEBALD, Panzerarmee Africa Ic informed.

26.8.44. Athens - Canea. YACHT for Fliegerkorps Ic. KAHN for Festungskommandant 37236. V-Mann ROBERTO credible reports on 25/8 from CAIRO. I am not in position to ascertain number of new armoured division. Unconfirmed report that the new infantry div. is the 330th. I observed large numbers of armoured motor vehicles, numerous soldiers including Poles on the big NILE barrage dam near CAIRO. ANDREAS, SEBALD informed.

29.8.42. Heraklion - Athens. RUG. to Leiter. KAHN for A.G. Ref. messages 47471. ROBERTO I refer to message RUG. 26 (35924.) Messages 21,26,30,31 were submitted to the Fliegerkorps but were handed back to me since these messages are already at D(9RA). Major SCHARFER declared to me that we ought to save time and petrol.

#### DECEPTION

*Actual transcripts of CHEESE's W/T feed to the Athens German base. From the Top Secret CHEESE file.*

*This was about the time when the Operation Bertram would have been in full swing, and CHEESE is providing misinformation about troop movements and platoons.*

*This is also just after CHEESE and "Paul Nicossof" are back in German good graces, July 1942.*

BNA-KV-2-1133

Because Levi was arrested and convicted in late 1941/early 1942, the Cheese network out of Cairo took a significant hit to its credibility. One of the most interesting features of this story is that the imaginary agent, "Paul Nicossof," was able to regain and retain the trust of the Germans. Thanks to the ingenious manipulations of the British Intelligence operatives controlling the wireless, the Cheese network was back in the pink by June of 1942, just in time for "A" Force to start planting counter-intelligence prior to the commencement of Operation Bertram at El Alamein in Egypt (October, 1942). Indeed, some of the most fascinating pieces out of this sordid tale are the ways that the intelligence operatives used payment schedules (or, rather, the German's lack of payment to "Paul Nicossof") to establish



credibility about the fictitious informant's information; Nicossof was portrayed as petulant and inconsistent because efforts to pay him were always unsuccessful. Indeed, his handlers credited the "unforeseen event" of the German's inability to pay "Nicossof" as the way they were able to extend his character beyond the "impasse" that would normally constitute a non-military informant. "Nicossof" could then see – rather, portray – himself as the "man who brought Rommel to Egypt," which would get him paid for his troubles at last, in addition to all the attending glory and medals.

Perhaps because of the British Intelligence's efforts to make "Nicossof" convincing and that Levi was completely constant under duress in prison, the Germans never really lost faith in the Cheese operative network. More likely, they were starved for information, and Cheese held the only promise for any intelligence about the Middle East. Tellingly, the Germans blamed the Italians for the confinement of their only key agent in the Middle East, Renato Levi. For his part, Levi felt that the Italians were jealous of the German's "success" in establishing an informant network after "Count Scrimbo's" own attempts to do so had failed. For whatever the reason, the Germans trusted Levi, but he never broke or compromised his duty to the Allied forces.

Others have looked at these newly declassified documents in the attempt to press Levi into the service of a "Hero Spy" figure. In truth, Levi was a far more complicated figure and these whitewash narratives don't succeed in allowing his experiences all their complexity. And most interestingly, his story reveals much about the inner workings of the German Abwehr and the nature of the Italian Intelligence operations. His British handlers conjectured that it was unlikely the German and Italian Intelligence bureaus had a great deal of communication between them, and the Germans, in spite of their full faith in Levi, were overly satisfied with his original purpose of establishing a wireless transmitter network, to their detriment.

To read his declassified documents, Levi's ultimate fate is unclear. It is true that the Cheese network was in full swing throughout the war, and many have credited "Cheese" with hoodwinking the Germans in grand fashion on many occasions. Perhaps Levi was again affiliated with Cheese after his release, perhaps not. Regardless, Renato Levi – lover of travel, intrigue, and a really good lie – did a remarkable service to the Allied forces by instituting one of the best and most productive counter-intelligence operations of WWII, and he kept it all safe.

## Roger Grosjean



(25 July 1920 – 7 June 1975) started his career as a French Air Force fighter pilot in France, England and North Africa. This involved a short stint as a Security Service (MI5) double agent during World War II (code name FIDO). He then became a successful archeologist in Corsica.

Grosjean was born on 25 July 1920, in Chalon-sur-Saône, France. He entered the French Air Force in 1939 and spent the next three years in various postings, among them Fighter Group (GC) 2/1 in Le Luc, Var. When the Germans invaded the non-occupied part of France in November 1942, Grosjean was demobilized.

So as to join Charles de Gaulle in London, he put together a very risky strategy: he made the Germans believe that if they helped him get over to England, he would send back various types of information. Grosjean reached England in July 1943 and reported his cover story at the start of his stay at the Royal Victoria Patriotic School (London Reception Centre). He agreed to act as a double agent for the Security Service (MI5) and was part of the Double-Cross System from August 1943 to May

1944.

During that time he was also a member of the Free French Air Force. In the summer of 1944 he was sent to Algeria and then to Morocco where he was an instructor on P-39s. He ended his French Air Force career in 1946 and was awarded a number of French distinctions, among them the Legion of Honour.

After a transition period, during which he trained as an archeologist and took part in digs with L'Abbé Henri Breuil, the famous French archeologist, he joined the French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS). In 1954, he left for Corsica and began what was to be a very successful research career spanning twenty years studying the Corsican megalithic civilization. He uncovered sculpted menhirs at Filitosa, Cauria and Palaghju, for example, as well as megalithic fortified settlements at Alo-Bisucce, Cucuruzzu and Araghju.

In the summer of 1975, at the height of his career, and while working on his new museum in Sartène, Grosjean died of a heart attack. He was fifty-four years old. An illustrated biography of Grosjean was published in 2011 by his

son, François Grosjean, who also wrote an article about him in *British Archaeology* in 2012. A few years later he wrote a book on his search of his two parents, Roger and Sallie, whom he did not know well as a child.

## Juan Pujol García MBE

A Catalan (14 February 1912 – 10 October 1988) was a Spanish citizen who deliberately became a double agent against Nazi Germany during World War II. He relocated to England to carry out fictional spying activities for the Nazis, and was known by the British codename **Garbo** and the German codename **Alaric Arabel**.

Pujol had the distinction of receiving military decorations from both sides during World War II, gaining both an Iron Cross from Germany and an MBE (Member of the Order of the British Empire) from Britain.

After developing a loathing of both the Communist and Fascist regimes in Europe during the Spanish Civil War, Pujol decided to become a spy for the Allies as a way to do something "for the good of humanity". Pujol and his wife contacted the British and American intelligence agencies, but each rejected his offer.

Undeterred, he created a false identity as a fanatically pro-Nazi Spanish government official and successfully became a German agent. He was instructed to travel to Britain and recruit additional agents; instead he moved to Lisbon and created bogus reports from a variety of public sources, including a tourist guide to Britain, train timetables, cinema newsreels, and magazine advertisements.



Although the information would not have withstood close examination, Pujol soon established himself as a trustworthy agent. He began inventing fictional sub-agents who could be blamed for false information and mistakes.

The Allies finally accepted Pujol when the Germans spent considerable resources attempting to hunt down a fictional convoy. Following interviews by Desmond Bristow of Section V MI6 Iberian Section, Juan Pujol was taken on. The family was moved to Britain and Pujol was given the code name "GARBO". Pujol and his handler Tomás (Tommy) Harris spent the rest of the war expanding the fictional network, communicating at first by letter to the German handlers and later by radio. Eventually the Germans were funding a network of twenty-seven fictional agents

Pujol had a key role in the success of Operation Fortitude, the deception operation intended to mislead the Germans about the timing and location of the invasion of Normandy in 1944. The false information Pujol supplied helped persuade the Germans that the main attack would be in the Pas de Calais, so that they kept large forces there before and even after the invasion.

## Early life

Pujol was born in Barcelona on 14 February 1914 (or possibly 28 February 1912) to Joan Pujol, a Catalan who owned a dye factory, and Mercedes Guijarro García, from the Andalusian town of Motril in the Province of Granada. The third of four children, Pujol was sent at age seven to the Valldemia boarding school run by the Marist Brothers in Mataró, twenty miles from Barcelona; he remained there for the next four years. The students were only allowed out of the school on Sundays if they had a visitor, so his father made the trip every week.

His mother came from a strict Roman Catholic family and took communion every day, but his father was much more secular and had liberal political beliefs. At age thirteen, he was transferred to a school in Barcelona run by his father's card-playing friend Father Mossen Josep, where he remained for three years. After an argument with a teacher, he decided that he no longer wished to remain at the school, and became an apprentice at a hardware store.

Pujol engaged in a variety of occupations prior to and after the Spanish Civil War, such as studying animal husbandry at the Royal Poultry School in Arenys de Mar and managing various businesses, including a cinema.

His father died a few months after the Second Republic's birth in 1931, while Pujol was completing his education as a poultry farmer. Pujol's father left his family well-provided for, until his father's factory was taken over by the workers in the run-up to the Spanish Civil War.

## Spanish Civil War

In 1931, Pujol did his six months of compulsory military service in a cavalry unit, the 7th Regiment of Light Artillery. He knew he was unsuited for a military career, hating horse-riding and claiming to lack the "essential qualities of loyalty, generosity, and honour".

Pujol was managing a poultry farm north of Barcelona in 1936 when the Spanish Civil War began. His sister Elana's fiancé was taken by Republican forces, and later she and his mother were arrested and accused of being counter-revolutionaries. A relative in a trade union was able to rescue them from captivity.

He was called up for service on the Republican side but opposed the Republican government due to their treatment of his family. He hid at his girlfriend's home until he was captured in a police raid and imprisoned for a week, before being freed via the Traditionalist resistance group *Socorro Blanco*. They hid him until they could produce fake identity papers that showed him to be too old for military service.

He started managing a poultry farm that had been requisitioned by the local Republican government, but it was not economically viable. The experience with rule by committee intensified his antipathy towards Communism.

He re-joined the Republican side using the false papers with the intention to desert as soon as possible, volunteering to lay telegraph cables near the front lines. He managed to desert to the Nationalist side during the Battle of the Ebro in September 1938. However, he was equally ill-treated by the Nationalist side, disliking their fascist influences and being struck and imprisoned by his colonel upon Pujol's expressing sympathy with the monarchy.

His experience with both sides left him with a deep loathing of both fascism and Communism, and by extension Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. He was proud that he had managed to serve both sides without firing a single bullet for either. After his discharge from the Nationalist army, he met his future first wife, Araceli Gonzalez, in Burgos and married her in Madrid; they had one child, Joan Fernando.



**Pujol in the uniform of the 7th Light Artillery, 1931**

## **World War II double-agent**

### **Independent spying**

In 1940, during the early days of World War II, Pujol decided that he must make a contribution "for the good of humanity" (and to oppose the Franco regime) by helping Britain – which, with its empire, was Germany's only adversary at the time. He initially approached the British three different times, including through his wife (though Pujol edited her participation out of his memoirs), but they showed no interest in employing him as a spy. Therefore, he resolved to establish himself as a German agent before approaching the British again to offer his services as a double-agent.

Pujol created an identity as a fanatically pro-Nazi Spanish government official who could travel to London on official business; he also obtained a fake Spanish diplomatic passport by fooling a printer into thinking Pujol worked for the Spanish embassy in Lisbon. He contacted Friedrich Knappe-Ratey, an Abwehr (German Intelligence) agent in Madrid, codenamed "Frederico". The Abwehr accepted Pujol and gave him a crash course in espionage (including secret writing), a bottle of invisible ink, a codebook, and £600 for expenses. His instructions were to move to Britain and recruit a network of British agents.

He moved instead to Lisbon, and – using a tourist's guide to Britain, reference books, and magazines from the Lisbon Public Library, and newsreel reports he saw in cinemas – created seemingly credible reports that appeared to come from London. He claimed to be travelling around Britain and submitted his travel expenses based on fares listed in a British railway guide. A slight difficulty was that he did not understand the pre-decimal system of currency used in Britain, expressed in pounds, shillings and pence, and was unable to total his expenses. Instead, he simply itemised them, and said that he would send the total later.

During this time he created an extensive network of fictitious sub-agents living in different parts of Britain. Because he had never actually visited the UK, he made several mistakes, such as claiming that his alleged contact in Glasgow "would do anything for a litre of wine", unaware of Scottish drinking habits. His reports were intercepted via the Ultra programme, and seemed so credible that the British counter-intelligence service MI5 launched a full-scale spy hunt.

In February 1942, either he or his wife (accounts differ) approached the United States after it had entered the war, contacting U.S. Navy Lieutenant Patrick Demorest in the naval attache's office in Lisbon, who recognised Pujol's potential. Demorest contacted his British counterparts.

### **Work with MI5**

The British had become aware that someone had been misinforming the Germans, and realised the value of this after the Kriegsmarine wasted resources attempting to hunt down a non-existent convoy reported to them by Pujol.

He was moved to Britain on 24 April 1942 and given the code name "BOVRIL", after the drink concentrate. However, after he passed the security check conducted by MI6 Officer Desmond Bristow, Bristow suggested that he be accompanied by MI5 officer Tomás Harris (a fluent Spanish speaker) to brief Pujol on how he and Harris should work together. His code name was changed to "GARBO", after Greta Garbo. Pujol's wife and child were later moved to Britain.

Pujol operated as a double agent under the XX Committee's aegis; Cyril Mills was initially BOVRIL's case officer; but he spoke no Spanish and quickly dropped out of the picture. His main contribution was to suggest, after the truly extraordinary dimensions of Pujol's imagination and accomplishments had become apparent, that his code name should be changed as befitted 'the best actor in the world'; and BOVRIL became GARBO. Mills passed his case over to the Spanish-speaking officer Harris.



Together, Harris and Pujol wrote 315 letters, averaging 2,000 words, addressed to a post-office box in Lisbon supplied by the Germans. His fictional spy network was so efficient and verbose that his German handlers were overwhelmed and made no further attempts to recruit any additional spies in the UK, according to the *Official History of British Intelligence in World War II*.

#### **Pujol's MI5 case officer Tomás ("Tommy") Harris**

GARBO was unique among Britain's double-agents, having deliberately set out to become one. The rest were enemy agents who had been discovered and turned, which required that they work under guard.

The information supplied to German intelligence was a mixture of complete fiction, genuine information of little military value, and valuable military intelligence artificially delayed. In November 1942, just before the Operation TORCH landings in North Africa, GARBO's agent on the River Clyde reported that a convoy of troopships and warships had left port, painted in Mediterranean camouflage. The letter was postmarked before the landings and sent via airmail, but was artificially delayed by British Intelligence in order to arrive too late to be useful. Pujol received a reply stating "we are sorry they arrived too late but your last reports were magnificent."

Pujol had been supposedly communicating with the Germans via a courier, a KLM pilot willing to carry messages to and from Lisbon for cash. This meant that message deliveries were limited to the KLM flight schedule. In 1943, responding to German requests for speedier communication, Pujol and Harris created a fictional radio operator. Radio became the preferred method of communication.

On occasion, he had to invent reasons why his agents had failed to report easily available information that the Germans would eventually know about. For example, he reported that his (fabricated) Liverpool agent had fallen ill just before a major fleet movement from that port, and so was unable to report the event. To support this story, the agent eventually 'died' and an obituary was placed in the local newspaper as further evidence to convince the Germans. The Germans were also persuaded to pay a pension to the agent's widow.

For radio communication, "Alaric Arabel" needed the strongest hand encryption the Germans had. The Germans provided GARBO with this system, which was in turn supplied to the codebreakers at Bletchley Park. GARBO's encrypted messages were to be received in Madrid, manually decrypted, and re-encrypted with an Enigma machine for transmission to Berlin. This gave the codebreakers the best possible source material for a chosen-plaintext attack on the Enigma key used for the second leg, namely the original text.

### **Operation Fortitude**

In January 1944, the Germans told Pujol that they believed a large-scale invasion in Europe was imminent and asked to be kept informed. This invasion was Operation Overlord, and Pujol played a leading role in Operation Fortitude, the deception campaign to conceal Overlord. He sent over 500 radio messages between January 1944 and D-Day, at times more than twenty messages per day. During planning for the Normandy beach invasion, the Allies decided that it was vitally important that the German leaders be misled into believing that the landing would happen at the Strait of Dover.

In order to maintain his credibility, it was decided that GARBO (or one of his agents) should forewarn the Germans of the timing and some details of the actual invasion of Normandy, although sending it too late for them to take effective action. Special arrangements were made with the German radio operators to be listening to GARBO through the night

of 5/6 June 1944, using the story that a sub-agent was about to arrive with important information. However, when the call was made at 3 AM, no reply was received from the German operators until 8 AM. Turning this piece of bad luck on its head, GARBO was able to add more operational details to the message when finally sent and thus increase his standing with the Germans. GARBO told his German contacts that he was disgusted that his first message was missed, saying "I cannot accept excuses or negligence. Were it not for my ideals I would abandon the work."

On 9 June (three days after D-day), GARBO sent a message to German intelligence that was passed to Adolf Hitler and the *Oberkommando der Wehrmacht* (OKW, the German High Command). GARBO said that he had conferred with his top agents and developed an order of battle showing 75 divisions in Britain; in reality, there were only about 50. Part of the "Fortitude" plan was to convince the Germans that a fictitious formation—First U.S. Army Group, comprising 11 divisions (150,000 men), commanded by General George Patton—was stationed in the south and east of Britain.

The deception was supported by fake planes, inflatable tanks, and vans travelling about the area transmitting bogus radio chatter. GARBO's message pointed out that units from this formation had not participated in the invasion, and therefore the first landing should be considered a diversion. A German message to Madrid sent two days later said "all reports received in the last week from Alaric Arabel [Pujol's German code-name] undertaking have been confirmed without exception and are to be described as exceptionally valuable." A post-war examination of German records found that, during Operation Fortitude, no fewer than sixty-two of Pujol's reports were included in OKW intelligence summaries.

OKW accepted GARBO's reports so completely that they kept two armored divisions and 19 infantry divisions in the Pas de Calais waiting for a second invasion through July and August 1944. The German Commander-in-Chief in the west, Field Marshal Gerd von Rundstedt, refused to allow General Erwin Rommel to move these divisions to Normandy. There were more German troops in the Pas de Calais region two months after the Normandy invasion than there had been on D-Day.

In late June, GARBO was instructed by the Germans to report on the falling of V-1 flying bombs. Finding no way of giving false information without arousing suspicion, and being unwilling to give correct information, Harris arranged for GARBO to be "arrested". He returned to duty a few days later, now having a "need" to avoid London, and forwarded an "official" letter of apology from the Home Secretary for his unlawful detention. The Germans paid GARBO (or Alaric Arabel, as they called him) US\$340,000 to support his network of agents, which at one point totaled 27 fabricated characters.

## Honors

As Alaric Arabel, Pujol was, on 29 July 1944, awarded the Iron Cross Second Class for his services to the German war effort. The award was normally reserved for front-line fighting men and required Hitler's personal authorization. The Iron Cross was presented via radio, and he received the physical medal from one of his German handlers after the war had ended.

As GARBO, he received a MBE from King George VI, on 25 November 1944. The Nazis never realised they had been fooled, and thus Pujol earned the distinction of being one of the few – if not the only – to receive decorations from both sides during World War II.

## After the war

After the Second World War, Pujol feared reprisals from surviving Nazis. With the help of MI5, Pujol travelled to Angola and faked his death from malaria in 1949. He then moved to Lagunillas, Venezuela, where he lived in (relative) anonymity running a bookstore and gift shop.

Pujol divorced his first wife and married Carmen Cilia, with whom he had two sons, Carlos Miguel and Joan Carlos and a daughter who died in 1975 at the age of twenty. By 1984, Pujol had moved to his son Carlos Miguel's house in La Trinidad, Caracas.

In 1971, the British politician Rupert Allason, writing under the pen name *Nigel West*, became interested in GARBO. For several years, he interviewed various former intelligence officers, but none knew GARBO's real name. Eventually, Tomas Harris' friend Anthony Blunt, the Soviet spy who had penetrated MI5, said that he had met GARBO, and knew him as "either Joan or Jose Garcia". Allason's investigation was stalled from that point until March 1984, when a former MI5 officer who had served in Spain supplied Pujol's full name. Allason hired a research assistant to call every J. García in the Barcelona phone book, eventually contacting Pujol's nephew. Pujol and Allason finally met in New Orleans on 20 May 1984.



At Allason's urging, Pujol travelled to London and was received by Prince Philip at Buckingham Palace, in an unusually long audience. After that he visited the Special Forces Club and was reunited with a group of his former colleagues, including Colonel T. A. Robertson, Colonel Roger Hesketh, Cyril Mills and Desmond Bristow.

On the 40th anniversary of D-Day, 6 June 1984, Pujol travelled to Normandy to tour the beaches and pay his respects to the dead. Pujol died in Caracas in 1988 and is buried in Choróní, a town inside Henri Pittier National Park by the Caribbean Sea.

## Mathilde Carré

Mathilde Carré (30 June 1908 – 2007)<sup>[1]</sup>, née Mathilde Lucie Bélard and known as "La Chatte", was a French Resistance agent during World War II who turned double agent.

## Biography

Carré was born in Le Creusot, Saône-et-Loire. In the 1930s she attended Sorbonne University and became a teacher. After her marriage, she moved to Algeria with her husband Maurice Carré, who was later killed in World War II, during the campaign of Italy.



She returned to France, worked as a nurse and witnessed the country fall to the Germans. In 1940, she met a Polish Air Force Captain named Roman Czerniawski cryptonymed "Walenty" to the Poles and "Armand" or "Victor" to the French. Carré, who had contacts with the Vichy Second Bureau, joined the headquarters section of his Franco-Polish *Interallié* espionage network based in Paris under the cryptonym "Victoire" (as all the headquarters section staff had "V" initial names, in a network which named its agents and their sectors or areas of coverage for Christian names grouped by the letters of the alphabet) although nicknamed *La Chatte*, ("The She-cat") for her feline predatory and stealthy propensities.

On 17 November 1941, the Abwehr's Hugo Bleicher arrested Czerniawski, Carré and many other members of *Interallié*; they had been uncovered when an informant in Normandy had been exposed to the Gestapo. She was interrogated by him, threatened with death and also offered financial reward, she agreed to become a double agent herself and revealed all of the members of the network known to her. She began to work for Germans continuing to use the code name *Victoire*. She may also have become Bleicher's mistress.

According to Pierre de Vomécourt, an agent of the Special Operations Executive (SOE), he and a Resistance contact began to suspect her. When he confronted Carré, who had become his mistress, she confessed and together they planned to outwit the Abwehr.

She claimed she convinced Bleicher, and through him, his superiors, to send her to London to infiltrate the SOE. In February 1942, she was exfiltrated to London with de Vomécourt via a naval vessel from a cove in Locquirec. MI5 interrogated her about Abwehr techniques and played back her radio link for a period until her usefulness was exhausted, whereupon she was arrested and taken first to HM Prison Holloway and then to HM Prison Aylesbury for the rest of the war, where she acted as an informant against other detainees.

After the war, Carré was deported to France where she faced charges for treason. At the trial, which started on 3 January 1949, the prosecution read from her diary: "What I wanted most was a good meal, a man, and, once more, Mozart's Requiem." Despite being defended by her wartime commander, Paul Archard, she was sentenced to death on 7 January 1949. Three months later, the sentence was commuted to 20 years in jail. Carré was released in September 1954. She published an account of her life in *J'ai été "La Chatte"* (1959; revised in 1975 as *On m'appelait la Chatte* ("I Was Called the Cat")), in which she denied many claims that had been made about her and her activities during the war. She died in Paris on May 30th, 2007, at the age of 98.

## Günther Schütz

**Günther Schütz** (17 April 1912 – 1991) was a German citizen who performed a mission for German Intelligence (Abwehr) in World War II, as part of Britain's Double Cross System.

## Early life

Schütz was born on 17 April 1912 in the Silesian town of Schweidnitz. He was born into a prosperous upper-middle-class family which owned a metal manufacturing business.

## Military career

He had served in the local army reserve unit from 1934–1935 and later attended a five-week training course with the 2/58 Mounted Artillery Regiment at Oldenburg in 1938. From 1938–1939 Schütz attended the German Commercial College at Eaton Rise, Ealing, in London and also acted for the Abwehr while in Britain.

## Abwehr

His selection for Abwehr training took place when on home leave in Christmas 1938, he had been asked to attend the Hamburg Ast. and on arrival had been introduced to Hauptmann Dr. Friedrich Karl Praetorius, the senior officer in the economic section of Abwehr I. He was asked not to be a spy but to do his 'patriotic duty' and to keep his eyes open. He was expected to send reports on the economic and industrial situation around him to an address in Hamburg. Schütz agreed and returned to Britain as a representative of *Remy & Co.*, an Abwehr front company.

Schütz travelled the country taking pictures of factories, bringing with him a Portuguese man called Pierce who also shared the building where he lived. Schütz attempted to recruit Pierce and he agreed to work for the Abwehr. Pierce also went to MI5 and was asked to act as a double agent called "RAINBOW", with an MI5 handler based in Antwerp. The Abwehr asked Pierce to assess bomb damage from IRA S-Plan attacks, report on internal transport facilities and British air defences. Pierce did so but in his capacity as RAINBOW he fed the Abwehr faulty information until June 1943.

Schütz returned to Germany in August 1939 and was immediately activated for military service. He was assigned to *Abwehrstelle I/Wi Generalkommando* Hamburg, the branch dealing with economic espionage. As a cover, Schütz was posted to the 'translator company' for Wehrkreis X. From December 1939 he carried out a variety of tasks for Abwehr I/Wi in particular visiting Belgium, Italy and Switzerland primarily to collect letters from live-letter drops sent by German agents overseas. He was also sent to Spain periodically from June 1940 and during this period acted as handler for agent Werner Unland. In December 1940, Schütz was recalled to Hamburg and told about a mission to Ireland. His mission would be to collect and send weather information (desired by Abwehr section I-L Air Intelligence), observe British convoy traffic (for Abwehr section I-M Naval Intelligence) and conduct economic espionage against selected targets in Northern Ireland. In particular, Abwehr wanted data on the:

- condition of harbors,
- the location and capacity of plants producing corn oil, margarine, soap and sugar,
- oil refineries,
- carbide works,
- oil lines and storage tanks,
- shipyard activity,
- bomb damage assessments of Luftwaffe raids,
- and the amount of food being sent from Ireland to Britain.

His mission was dependent on regular radio contact and he received training in the basics of radio transmitting. Gaelic scholar and SS officer Ludwig Mühlhausen also became involved in training Schütz. He was taught the basics of Morse code and meteorology and was the first agent sent to Ireland with the new microdot system. He was given £1,000 sterling and \$3,200 US, some of which was counterfeit. In the event of trouble Schütz was to contact the German Legation for assistance. He was also to give some of his money to two Abwehr agents, Werner Unland, and Johannes Ernstberger who remained on an Abwehr retainer.

## Mission

Schütz's mission to Ireland was cancelled in July 1940, but rescheduled in September 1940. In further preparation he met with Oscar Pfaus and requested some Irish contact names. This request was denied by the Abwehr who made it clear to Schütz that he was **not** to contact the IRA for any reason. The first attempt to deposit him in Ireland failed when the He-111 was forced to return to base in Amsterdam on 5 March 1941. One week later however he was successfully parachuted into Ireland. The planned drop zone was Newbridge near Dublin but in fact he was dropped 100 miles off near the village of Taghmon, County Wexford. Unfortunately for the Abwehr he was spotted and reported to the Garda Síochána who on inspection of his case, discovered his transmitter, money, microscope and bottle of German cognac. He was placed under arrest. He immediately confessed everything to the police and was taken to The Bridewell Gaol then Arbour Hill Prison on 15 March 1941.

During his interrogation by Irish Military Intelligence (G2) he was told about the German agents Wilhelm Preetz and Walter Simon who had also been caught - it was a sign of his unpreparedness that he was entirely unaware of these men. Through the interrogation of Schütz, G2 were able to arrest Unland although they had been aware of his activities in Dublin previously.

### **Internment, escape & IRA**

German Intelligence internees were held in a number of locations throughout "The Emergency" -- Sligo Gaol, Arbour Hill Prison, Mountjoy Gaol, The Bridewell and Custume Barracks, Athlone. Although three of them, Görtz, Tributh and Gärtner (Operation Mainau and Operation Lobster I) were serving members of the Wehrmacht, they were deemed enough of a security threat to be separated from the regular prison population.

Schütz however was to make a few efforts to escape from captivity. The first involved digging a tunnel from Mountjoy Gaol with the help of Dutch internee Jan van Loon, but it failed after the tunnel filled with water. The second was more successful and involved enlisting the help of the IRA through internee Jim O'Hanlon, who gave Schütz his own address and those of several other volunteers. Schütz made his escape attempt on 15 February 1942 and reached the house of Jim's brother Joe O'Hanlon. From this point on he was sheltered and protected by the IRA, first by O'Hanlon, then by Caitlin Brugha in Rathmines. Brugha wanted Schütz to re-establish contact with the Abwehr and facilitate a resupply of arms, ammunition and money to the IRA.

Through Mrs. Brugha's contacts Schütz met with the representatives of the "Northern Group", the Belfast IRA who had taken over the organisation following the arrest of Stephen Hayes on charges of treason. The men explained to Schütz that they had a plan; they wanted communications equipment, arms, ammunition and money to rebuild the IRA. In exchange they would arrange for Schütz to leave Ireland and arrive in occupied France. These arrangements were made directly with the new IRA Adjutant General Eoin McNamee and another IRA member who is presumed to be Seán McCool. The intended skipper of the vessel that was to take Schütz to France was IRA member and Irish Naval Service Captain Charles McGuinness.

The departure was planned for 30 April 1942. McGuinness was collected and taken to the vessel at Bray just south of Dublin, but the house where Schütz was staying was raided and Schütz was taken into custody by Irish Special Branch. The irony is that when they raided the property, the detectives were looking not for Schütz, but for Nóinín Brugha. Schütz was returned to the Bridewell and thence to Arbour Hill, where his room, which had once housed Éamon de Valera, had a carpet and radio. He sat out the remainder of the war in prison.

### **Life after "The Emergency"**

Schütz was put on the list for deportation after the war ended, but he married Irish citizen Una Mackey on 1 May 1947, by this time he was on permanent parole and had a flat in Haddington Road, Dublin. He had also begun a small business making desk lamps. He appeared at the aliens' office at the same time that Hermann Görtz committed suicide and following this was flown from Baldonnel to Frankfurt. He was taken to a US Army interrogation camp near Oberursel but was released soon after. He and his wife began all over again in Hamburg and he took up his desk lamps business again. He successfully established his own import/export business and eventually moved back to Ireland in the 1960s. For some years he ran a hotel in County Wicklow and eventually retired to his home in Avoca. He died in his sleep in Shankill, Dublin, 1991.

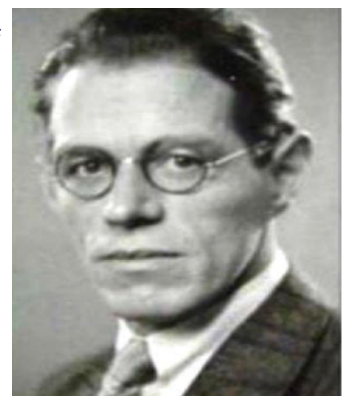
RTÉ made a dramatised television series on German spies in Ireland ("*Caught in a Free State*") in 1983. One of the four episodes focused on Günther Schütz (in which he was played by the German actor Goetz Burger).

### **Gösta Caroli**

(6 November 1902 – 8 May 1975) was a double agent working for **MI5** during the **Second World War** under the codename SUMMER. Gösta Caroli and **Wulf Schmidt** (a Danish citizen) landed, via parachute, in September 1940. The two were genuine Nazis, had trained together and were friends.

Caroli was coerced into turning double in return for Schmidt's life being spared, whilst Schmidt was told that Caroli had sold him out and in anger swapped sides.[5] Caroli quickly became a problem; he attempted to strangle his MI5 handler before making an escape carrying a canoe, on a motorcycle. He vaguely planned to row to the Netherlands, but came unstuck after falling off the bike in front of a policeman. He was eventually recaptured and judged too much trouble to be used. Schmidt was more of a success. Codenamed 'Tate', he continued to contact Germany until May 1945.

### **Wulf Dietrich Christian Schmidt,**





Later known as **Harry Williamson** (7 December 1911 – 19 October 1992) was a Danish citizen who during the Second World War became a double agent working for Britain against Nazi Germany under the codename **Tate**.

He was part of the Double Cross System, under which all German agents in Britain were controlled by MI5 (British counter-intelligence) and used to deceive Germany. Nigel West singled him out as "one of the seven spies who changed the world."

### Career as a double agent

Schmidt was sent to Britain by the Abwehr in September 1940, landing by parachute. He was captured immediately, as a previous captured agent had given away his coming in return for a promise that Schmidt, a friend, would not be executed.

Schmidt broke down under interrogation and became a double agent, making contact with Germany by radio in October 1940. He was one of the longest running agents in the Double Cross System; his last contact with Germany was on 2 May 1945. He operated his radio himself until he became ill and had to be imitated by a British operator. Though he recovered, he was not allowed to operate thereafter. He did continue to assist in composing the messages sent to Germany.

Tate participated in many deception and counter-intelligence operations. As a working agent, he needed money. In the spring of 1941, the Germans sent over Karel Richter to deliver money to Tate, but Richter was quickly captured by the British. In desperation, the Germans used a Japanese diplomat to deliver some money to Tate, which revealed the extent of German-Japanese co-operation.

In July 1941, the Abwehr sent £20,000 to Britain, which was received by Tate.<sup>[7]</sup> With this huge sum (approximately equivalent to £910,000 in 2016), Tate notionally established himself as a rich "man about town" in London, with easy access to black-market liquor and other luxuries. As such, he could plausibly make friends with military officers and civilian officials, and get intelligence from their loose talk or even recruit them as agents.

At the same time, Tate reported to the Germans that to avoid military service, he was employed on a farm owned by a friend, and could only visit London on weekends. This provided an excuse for his not recruiting more agents or reporting as much as the Germans wanted.

Nonetheless, Tate participated in the Operation Bodyguard deception which covered the Invasion of Normandy. He notionally went to work on a farm near Wye in southeastern England, where the imaginary "First United States Army Group" (FUSAG) was located. Tate provided the Germans with fake schedules for the rail transport of FUSAG troops to ports of embarkation for the invasion. This apparent feat was highly regarded in Germany. For this and his other apparent successes, Tate was granted naturalisation as a German citizen so he could receive the Iron Cross First and Second Class.

In the meantime, Schmidt lived quietly in England, finding employment as a photographer. By 1945, he had even been registered to vote in that year's general election.

Tate's last deception was in early 1945. German submarines ("U-boats") running submerged or with only the snorkel up could not use normal navigation methods. But they found a way to fix their positions off southern Ireland, where there was a distinctive conical seamount. Using the depth sounder, a submarine could locate the peak of the seamount, which was a known position. Rodger Winn, head of the U-Boat Tracking Room, suspected this and suggested laying a minefield at that spot. No minelayer was available, so he approached the Double Cross team, and suggested telling the Germans through a controlled agent that there was a minefield there.

Tate was chosen, as one of his notional friends was a Royal Navy officer who was a minelaying expert. Tate reported that his "mine-laying friend" had bragged to him about a new minefield near Ireland, with clues that should have alerted the Germans. However, nothing seemed to happen. Then, by coincidence, a U-boat was reported sunk off Ireland. Tate reported that his "mine-laying friend" had come by to celebrate this success. Tate added that he was angry and ready to quit: he had risked his life for this intelligence, and a U-boat was lost because the Germans had not acted on it. Two days later, the German Navy ordered its U-boats to avoid a zone sixty miles square around that seamount – thus losing that navigation fix and also providing a safe zone for Allied ships.

## Nathalie Sergueiew

### Early life

Sergueiew was born in Saint Petersburg, Russia (niece of General Yevgeny Miller), but her family fled to France following the Russian Revolution in 1917. She was educated in Paris, and trained as a journalist, being fluent in English,

French and German. During the mid-1930s she travelled extensively throughout Germany, and once interviewed Hermann Göring.



An attempt was made to recruit her by the German intelligence service in 1937, but she refused. However, after the fall of France she agreed to work for the *Abwehr*. Her case officer, Major Emil Kliemann, trained her in intelligence gathering and communications techniques, and in 1943 she travelled to Spain, taking her beloved dog Frisson with her.

Sergueiew promptly contacted the MI5 representative in Madrid and reported herself as a German spy and offered to work for British Intelligence. She was accepted, and travelled to England. Unfortunately British quarantine regulations meant that Frisson was left behind at Gibraltar.

Sergueiew was given the code-name "Treasure" and handled by MI5 officer Mary Sherer. "Treasure" turned out to be an effective agent, but was also described as "exceptionally temperamental and troublesome". She revealed her role as a double agent to her American boyfriend, and threatened to quit unless MI5 arranged for her dog to be brought from Spain.

Matters came to a head in May 1944 when "Treasure" learned that Frisson had died. She informed MI5 that she had a secret signal, which would indicate to Kliemann that she was under British control and threatened to use it in revenge for the death of her dog. After a tumultuous meeting with Colonel T. A. Robertson, head of the section responsible for control of the Double Cross agents, she eventually revealed the secret code. "Treasure" continued to work for MI5, sending the Germans false information until a week after D-Day, when she was informed that her services were no longer required. However, MI5 continued transmitting messages from her for another five months.



Perhaps the most important part of her work was that her long messages were re-encrypted in the German Enigma machines. This provided Bletchley Park with excellent cribs for the Cryptanalysis of the Enigma used by other *Abwehr* networks. Sergueiew returned to France in late 1944, where she served in the French Women's Army Service.

### Later life

After the war she wrote a revealing memoir, describing her former MI5 employers as "gangsters". Her memoirs, entitled *Secret Service Rendered*, were eventually published in 1968.

While serving as a Russian language interpreter for Major John Barton Collings, the two fell in love and were married in Paris in 1946. At that time Collings was serving as the Military Governor of [Erfurt](#), Germany, with responsibility for relocating the survivors of nearby Buchenwald, many of whom were Russians. Later they moved to Solon Township, MI, where Nathalie died on 17 May 1950 from kidney failure.

### Werner Alfred Waldemar von Janowski,

(*Abwehr*-codenamed "Bobbi"; Allied-codenamed WATCHDOG), was a captured German Second World War Nazisp and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police's first double agent. He is believed to have been a triple agent by some, underscoring the RCMP's inexperience in espionage. Due to power struggles between the Canadian and British intelligence agencies during the Second World War and the RCMP's inexperience, Operation Watchdog was a failure. Janowski provided little significant intelligence to the Allies: no *Abwehr* agents were arrested and no U-boats were captured, despite his apparent cooperation.<sup>[2]</sup> Within a year the operation was shut down and Janowski was sent to a prison in Britain.

Janowski disembarked from the German submarine *U-518* submarine at Chaleur Bay, four miles west of New Carlisle, Quebec, around 5 a.m., on November 9, 1942. His destination was Montreal, having first to stop in New Carlisle so he could take the first train out. At 6:30 a.m., under the alias of William Brenton, Janowski checked in at Hotel New Carlisle. The son of the hotel owner grew suspicious of him, due to inconsistencies with the German spy's story. He used an out-of-circulation Canadian note when paying his bill to the owner's son and when he left to wait at the train station the suspicious son of the hotelier followed him.





Constable Alfonse Duchesneau of the Quebec Provincial Police was alerted to the situation, and he boarded the train car just as it was leaving the station. Duchesneau intercepted Janowski, who maintained he was William Brenton, a radio salesman from Toronto. When his baggage was searched, Janowski immediately said to Duchesneau, "Searching my luggage won't be necessary. I am a German officer who serves his country as you serve yours."

After his capture and interrogation, the Canadian military attempted to locate the German submarine in which Janowski had arrived. Despite an extensive search of Chaleur Bay, both the warship HMCS *Burlington* and assisting Royal Canadian Air Force aircraft were unable to locate *U-518*.

In late August 1943, Janowski was sent to England, where he was incarcerated at Camp 020. He remained there for the duration of the war. He was repatriated to an internment camp in the British Zone of Germany in July 1945. Released in 1947, Janowski had no home to return to, as Allenstein and most of East Prussia had been annexed by Poland and its population expelled. He eventually found work as a translator, and in the 1960s worked for the German Navy. Janowski died in Spain in 1978 while on a holiday.

### Johnny Jebsen – Artist

**Johann-Nielsen Jebsen**, nicknamed "Johnny", was an anti-Nazi German intelligence officer and British double agent (code name Artist) during the Second World War. Jebsen recruited Dušan Popov (who became the British agent Tricycle) to the *Abwehr* and through him later joined the Allied cause. Kidnapped from Lisbon by the Germans shortly before the Normandy landings, Jebsen was tortured in prison and spent time in a concentration camp before disappearing, presumed killed, at the end of the war.

#### Early life

Jebsen was born in Hamburg in 1917, heir to the shipping firm Jebsen & Jebsen. His parents, who both died whilst Jebsen was still a child, were of Danish origin but held German citizenship, after moving the company to the country. Even early on, Jebsen considered his citizenship a convenience, with deep roots remaining in his Danish ancestry. During childhood he visited England and became enamoured with the country, adopting the mannerisms and the language.



Jebsen attended the University of Freiburg during the 1930s, where he became close friends with Duško Popov. During this time, both showed distaste for the Nazi regime that was emerging in Germany. After graduation Jebsen moved to England, intending to study at Oxford University, although it appears he never did this. Over the next few years he moved amongst the London social set, befriending P. G. Wodehouse amongst others.

### Second World War

At the outset of the Second World War, Jebsen joined the German military intelligence agency—the *Abwehr*—largely as a way to avoid compulsory service in the army. He was given a vague brief as an independent "researcher" and assigned the rank of private. In reality it meant he could continue his normal activities as an international businessman, so long as he was available to help the *Abwehr* when it required. In 1940, Jebsen arranged an introduction between Popov, who the Germans hoped to recruit as an agent, and a senior *Abwehr* officer in Belgrade. The meeting led to Popov's recruitment, upon which he instantly offered his services to the Allies as a double agent. It is likely that Jebsen knew this early on, and often passed information to Popov which the latter believed was intended for Allied hands.

During the war, Jebsen travelled freely on business, although it was not clear what he did. He married Eleonore Bothilde Peterson, an actress from Frankfurt, but had a string of mistresses across Europe. Jebsen's anti-Nazi stance led to clashes with the SS, and its intelligence office, the *Sicherheitsdienst*. Through 1943, Jebsen, Dušan Popov and his brother Ivo (also an agent, codenamed Dreadnought) ran an operation to recruit double agents from Yugoslavia. Ivo Popov identified potential candidates, who were told they would be working for the British. First they were sent to Berlin, under the care of Jebsen, for training in the spy school before ultimately ending up in Britain (via Spain and Portugal) to work for MI5.

### Kidnapping

On 29 April 1944, Jebsen was abducted from Lisbon, Portugal, and driven overnight to France. Aloys Schreiber, the head of German counter-intelligence in Lisbon, had invited Jebsen to his office on the pretext of discussing his

pending War Merit Medal. After a brief struggle Jebson and his friend (Heinz Moldenhauer) were overpowered and bundled into a car.

Jebson's disappearance was a serious concern for the Allies. He had been privy to a great deal of information, not just the knowledge of Popov's double agent role, but the fact that Agent Garbo's network of sub-agents was fiction and familiarity with many details of Operation Fortitude. If he talked, the entire cover plan for the Normandy landings was at risk. After much analysis the intelligence services decided that Jebson had been snatched because the *Abwehr* believed he was planning to defect, rather than that he had already turned. It is possible that Jebson was abducted to protect Popov, who the Germans considered one of their most important agents. As a precaution, the Allies suspended Popov's network of fictional sub-agents and his transmissions to his German handlers.

At first Jebson was taken to the Gestapo headquarters in Berlin, where his interrogation began. After a few weeks the Allies were encouraged, intercepts of German communications showed the Germans were interested in Jebson's finances (he had been defrauding a number of SS officers) – there was no mention of his activities as an agent. As time progressed it appeared that agent Artist had not cracked under pressure and the *Fortitude* deception was safe.

**Gestapo headquarters in Berlin, where Jebson was held in a basement cell**



In July 1944, Jebson was moved to Sachsenhausen concentration camp. When he arrived he had broken ribs and was malnourished, but still harboured thoughts of escape. He told Allied soldiers, also held in the camp, that he had been accused of helping the British and when he had refused to talk his financial fraud had been investigated. Eventually he got a message to London via a British Commando, Jack Churchill, however the War Office had no record of Jebson's name and so the plea for help was ignored. In February 1945, Gestapo agents removed Jebson from Sachsenhausen; it is the last sighting of him and he is presumed to have been murdered soon after. Several attempts to find him after the war were unsuccessful and he was legally declared dead on 17 February 1950.

### **Christopher le STRANGE (Dickie Metcalf) – Balloon.**

#### **British Racing Drivers Club in 1966**

He was running a lovely black Mk1 Lola and I think he won his race. Most of my mother's friends, including I think this one, were ex-"War Office" colleagues, so it was interesting to read fairly recently that Dickie Metcalfe was in fact an MI5 double agent during the war (codename "Balloon"). This means of course that the opposition thought he was working for them, but in fact he was working for "us" (this is all now in the public domain and can be read in the now published "secret" diaries of Guy Liddell, who was head of the department where Metcalfe was "controlled"). So he was not only a gentleman, but a very gallant (and un-sung) hero in his way.

A number of drivers seem to have been in the war time Security Service, amongst others Jock Horsfall. I wonder if anybody knows of any others? I have a hunch about one, whom I also met in rather similar circumstances.

### **Joseph LENIHAN - Basket**

#### **(From a letter by Mary O'Rourke)**

Joe studied for the examination to be an officer in the Customs and Excise Department, passing it, of course, because of his intelligence, and getting a job there, which he kept until 1931, when he was dismissed because of a work scandal. Undaunted, Uncle Joe then sat the Employment Clerk's exam and he was placed second in Ireland. Of course, then his earlier dismissal was laid bare, so that was the end of that.

Joe then left Ireland and went to America to try his luck for a couple of years, before coming home to Ireland, where he was convicted in July 1933 for creating a public disturbance, and this was followed by a minor conviction for which he received a sentence of nine months in jail. Trouble just seemed to follow Joe wherever he went.

During the 1930s, the trail goes cold, but the next episode reads like a novel, Mairead. Uncle Joe appeared on Jersey, just before the German occupation of that island in July of 1940. He had worked as a labourer there, picking potatoes among other things, but when he attempted to escape from the island in a stolen boat, the motor flooded and he was washed ashore on the Cotentin Peninsula in Normandy. There, he was captured by German forces and interrogated. I'm not sure if he would have been able to tell them much, Maura, but we know that he was approached by two German officers who offered to release him from Gestapo custody if he would spy for Germany.

Perhaps the readers might be shocked by this and who knows why Joe agreed? Perhaps he felt that he had no choice, or maybe his wayward temperament came to the fore once more. In any case, off he went to Paris, where he was lodged until the end of 1940 near the headquarters of the Abwehr, or German intelligence, at 22 avenue de Versailles. Here, he received instructions in various aspects of spying and was given a cover address in Madrid, where he was to send any communications. According to Professor Eunan O’Halpin’s book, *Spying on Ireland*, Uncle Joe was to be parachuted into Ireland to give meteorological reports from Sligo, and then he was to do the same in Britain. He landed in Summerhill, Co Meath, on July 18th, 1941, and he went to visit his brother Gerard, telling him a cock-and-bull story about having been in Valparaíso in Chile, a story that he also told my father. Used and all as they were to Joe’s tall tales, they didn’t believe him.

When Professor O’Halpin’s book came out, I came across this account of Joe’s escapade in *The Irish Times*: German intelligence dropped Lenihan by parachute in July 1941. His mission was firstly to radio weather reports from Sligo, and then to travel to Britain to report on conditions. Instead he travelled to Northern Ireland and handed himself over to the British. Lenihan explained that, although a convinced republican, he disliked Nazism even more than he did Britain. His MI5 interrogators were amazed at his remarkable memory, describing him as by far their best source on German intelligence organisation in France and the Low Countries. One officer thought him too good to be true and suspected he was a German plant; others pointed to his “moral courage”, the honesty of his anti-British convictions, “which he could easily have withheld”, and to the quality of his information. (*Irish Times*, 2008)

I was a very young child at the time, but I do have a memory, or a story that is part of family folklore anyway, of Joe’s return home to Ireland when he was dropped into the country. The story goes that during this period he came to stay with my father in Athlone. The Garda had been alerted about him and came to see my father one night to tell him to get Joseph out of Athlone, otherwise they would be calling to arrest him. My father told Joe that he had to go and he took my mother’s bike, with the beautiful new basket that she had just purchased for it, and he cycled off to Geashill in Co Offaly, where your own mother, Maura, ran a two-teacher school with her husband, Jimmy Blake, who was the principal. I could only have been about six years of age at the time, but what I remember of this incident was my mother berating my father, saying, “I don’t want to see that man here again”, or words to that effect. She constantly bemoaned the fact that he had made his getaway on her bike and that he had taken the beautiful new basket that she had only just attached to the front for her messages in town. Such stories stick in little girls’ minds and I have a vivid recollection of all of that and of the excitement I felt about Joe’s escape.

We know that Joe arrived at Maura’s in Geashill on the “stolen” bike and that she kept him for a few days until she, in turn, was visited by the Garda, so he set off for Dundalk and the border. When he crossed into Northern Ireland, he turned himself into the RUC, asking to be taken to a representative of MI5. Here, the story takes yet another twist, as Joseph was sent to London and given the code name “Basket” (I wonder if that was reference to my poor mother’s bicycle basket!). He was put to work there sending coded letters to his Abwehr cover address in Madrid. Uncle Joe was now part of the famed MI5 operation Double Cross or XX, which was so important in winning the war. It would seem that every single German agent living in Britain was known about and contacted to spy for Britain. Of course, our relationship with Britain was strained at the time, due to our neutrality, and Professor O’Halpin’s comments prove how difficult it must have been for Joe.

After a lot of toing and froing, B Division of MI5 finally decided that Lenihan/Basket was not a suitable candidate for Double Cross. Cecil Liddell, Head of MI5’s Irish Section (B9) at the time, and brother to Guy Liddell, of course, was quite complimentary about the Irish spy and wrote:

*“Though of rough appearance, he was fairly well educated, intelligent and with a phenomenal memory for facts and faces. He gave more fresh and accurate information about the Abwehr in The Netherlands and Paris than any other single agent.”*

*I suppose that we can feel proud of that, Maura! Apparently, even though Uncle Joe spied for the British, he refused to take their money, which was typical of the man, but I cheered when I read what Professor O’Halpin said in the Irish Independent a few years ago: “He was a wideboy but he had plenty of moral courage. There’s no doubt the British thought he had a brilliant mind.”*

His brush with MI5 didn’t work out as planned, but Joseph was not interned for the war and was allowed relatively unsupervised freedom. We know that the British continued to give him fairly free rein in England, though he was under observation, and they even allowed him leave for a short holiday in Ireland, though there is no account that he ever took it. When the war was over, the British settled many people who had been “useful” during the war. They gave Joe a job sorting mail at a post office in Manchester. There he lived out his life, earning his salary, keeping out of trouble, but never making any communication with Ireland or with America where his brother Willie (Liam) lived. After all the years of fighting and trouble, Joe would seem to have settled down and made a kind of peace with himself.

The years passed and nothing further was heard about Uncle Joe until 1974, when my brother Paddy received a telephone call from the Garda in Dublin, who in turn had received a telephone call from the police in Manchester to say that a Joseph Lenihan had died in a boarding house there. Paddy contacted Maura, your mother, and you, and off the three of you went to Manchester, where Joe had lived for so many years.

At the boarding house, they met his lovely landlady, who had nothing but praise for Joseph Lenihan. She said that he worked hard, had very few friends and went to the library constantly. In fact, the library often telephoned the house with news of books he'd ordered for collection. It would seem that his mind had stayed lively to the last.

Paddy often recalled that Joseph's room in the lodgings in Manchester was sparsely furnished, but that it was a good, large and bright room.

He died with very few personal effects, which I always thought was a sad thing, Maura. As we go through life, we accumulate so much: family photos, mementoes, gifts, but Joseph had none of these. The Irish trio quickly made arrangements for Uncle Joe's body to be brought back to Ireland. Here I come into the story. Paddy and Maura and you had made arrangements for Joseph to be buried at Esker Graveyard in Lucan, Co Dublin, and I can vividly remember going into the funeral home to see him with my two young sons, Feargal, who was 10 years old, and Aengus, who was six at the time. It was the first time they had ever seen anyone laid out, I think. I remember that Joe was tall, much taller than my father, with what I thought was a very refined face. There was a Mass in the church in Lucan and then he was buried in Esker. Professor Robert Dudley Edwards, then Professor of History at UCD, and father of Ruth Dudley Edwards, gave a great graveside oration – with his wild white hair, he looked as if he was born to give orations. Dudley Edwards's mother was a sister of Hannah McInerney, Joe's mother and my grandmother, so there was a great connection there. Dudley Edwards spoke very passionately about the Lenihan family at the graveside and we all felt a great sense of pride at this. Dudley Edwards had given Joe his place in the family, and that was fitting.

Now, as I write this letter to you, all this talk of secret money, radio equipment, a cipher, invisible ink and an address in Spain for communication purposes sounds so strange and so alien to us and yet this was the stuff of Joe's life, the background to that day when he landed in Summerhill, Co Meath, by parachute. I am reminded of the lines from the poem by William Wordsworth, *The Solitary Reaper*: "For old, unhappy, far-off things/And battles long ago". Yes, when I write, I am reminded of these long-ago battles and memories, not all of which are happy, but he was worthy of the memory we now pay him.

I never tire of talking about him when we meet, Mairead, and I know that we will go over those old, unhappy, far-off things again and Uncle Joe's story will be further enmeshed in our family story; it is part of the glue that binds us all together, which I think is very fitting. May Uncle Joe rest in peace.

God Bless, talk to you soon.

Your loving first cousin,

Letters

*This is an extract from Letters of My Life by Mary O'Rourke, published by Gill Books.*

### List of agents with code names.

- **Artist** – Johnny Jebsen
- **Balloon** – Dickie Metcalf
- **Basket** – Joseph Lenihan
- **Beetle** – Petur Thomsen, based in Iceland
- **Biscuit** – Sam McCarthy
- **Bootle** – jointly handled by SIS and the French Deuxième Bureau
- **Bronx** – Elvira Chaudoir
- **Brutus** – Roman Czerniawski
- **Careless** – Clark Korab
- **Carrot** – (real name unknown), a Polish airman

- *Celery* – Walter Dicketts
- *Charlie* – Kiener, a German born in Britain
- *Cheese* – Renato Levi, Italian Servizio Informazioni Militare agent
- *Cobweb* – Ib Arnason Riis, based in Iceland
- *Dreadnought* – Ivan Popov, brother of Dušan Popov, *Tricycle*
- *Dragonfly* – Hans George
- *Father* – Henri Arents
- *Fido* – Roger Grosjean
- *Freak* – Marquis Frano de Bona
- *Gander* – Hans Reysen
- *Garbo* – Juan Pujol García
- *Gelatine* – Gerda Sullivan
- *Gilbert* – André Latham, jointly handled by SIS and the French Deuxième Bureau
- *Giraffe* – Georges Graf
- *GW* – Gwilym Williams
- *Hamlet* – Dr Koestler, an Austrian
- *Hatchet* – Albert de Jaeger
- *Jacobs*
- *Josef* - Yuri Smelkov
- *Le Chat* – Mathilde Carré
- *Lambert* – Nikitov, a Russian
- *Lipstick* – Josef Terradellas, a Spaniard
- *Meteor* – Eugn Sostaric
- *Monoplane* - Paul Jeannin 6th Army Group - French - prior codenames Jacques and Twit; German codename: Normandie. Former radio operator on the French liner Normandie.
- *Moonbeam* – based in Canada
- *Mullett* – Thornton, a Briton born in Belgium
- *Mutt and Jeff* – Helge Moe and Tor Glad, two Norwegians
- *Peppermint* – José Brugada
- *Puppet* – Mr Fanto, a Briton
- *Rainbow* – Günther Schütz
- *Rover*
- *Scruffy* – Alphonse Timmerman
- *Shepherd*
- *The Snark* – Maritza Mihailovic, a Yugoslavian
- *Sniper*
- *Snow* – Arthur Owens
- *Spanehl* – Ivan Španiel
- *Spider* – based in Iceland
- *Springbok* – Hans von Kotze
- *Stephan* – Klein
- *Summer* – Gösta Caroli
- *Sweet William* – William Jackson



- *Tate* – Wulf Schmidt
- *Teapot*
- *Treasure* – Nathalie Sergueiew (Lily Sergeyev)
- *Tricycle* – Dušan Popov
- *Washout* – Ernesto Simoes
- *Watchdog* – Werner von Janowski
- *Weasel* – A doctor, Belgian
- *The Worm* – Stefan Zeiss
- *Zigzag* – Eddie Chapman